

THE F O V R E
bookes of Flavius Vegetius
Renatus, briefely contayninge a
plaine forme, and perfect knowledge
of Martiall policie, feates of Chi-
ualrie, and vvhatsouer per-
tayneth to warre.

Translated out of lattine, into
Englishe, by Iohn Sadler.

Anno. 1572.

¶ Seene and allowed, accordinge to
the order appointed.

Imprinted at London in
Fleete streete, neare to Saint
Dunstones Church by Tho-
mas Marthe.

TO THE RIGHT HO-
nourable and his singuler good Lord, the
Lorde Russell, Earle of Bedforde, one of the
Queenes maiestyes most honourable priuie coun-
sell, and Knighte of the honourable order of
the Garter. Iohn Sadler wysheth per-
fecte felicitye.



After I had first taken
in hande (righte honourable
and my singular good Lorde)
the translation of this worthy
and famous writer Flau^{us} Ve-
getius, at the request of the
right worshipfull sir Edmōde
Brudenell knight: I thought I should haue had no
further labour, but that the sayd translatiō beinge
so diligently and plainlye handled according to the
authors meaning, as my simple wit and knowledge
could do it, should haue contented and satisfiēd the
sayde sir Edmōde onelye for his owne priuate vse
and readinge. But he beinge a man alwayes studi-
ous, not so muche to pleasure himselfe, as to benefite
his cōuntrye, and also desyrous to make all men par-
takers of such commoditie, as he himselfe alone, or
a fewe besides him, mighte take by readinge of the
same: did afterwarde purpose to cause the sayde
worke
·ij·

The Epistle

worke to be printed. And althoughe the rude and simple translation thereof, mighte worthelye haue withdrawn him from his sayde intente: yet neuerthelesse consideringe what profitable thinges are therein contayned: how wyse and prudent counsels for all gouernours and Captaynes are there declared: how expedient and necessary the knowledge of these thinges may be for all times and seasons, and especially for this our time wherein we now do liue: he thoughte it better to cause the sayde worke to be openlye set forth and published, although in a very base and homelye stile, then that this worthye author, whom not onelye the Italians, Almaines and Frenchmē, but also many other Nations, haue most diligently translated in their owne peculiar languages, should any longer be hidde and kepte from all his natie countrye men: Geuinge thereby occasion to such as shall thinke the sayd worke to homelye and baselye handled, being yet, as it were, but hewen out of the rough, to plane and polishe the same, if they will be disposed more curiouslye, and to set it forth with finer and purer eloquence. VVhiche thinge so much the better may be done, that the Ise is now cut vp before, and the way made open, which at the first might seeme more harde and daungerous to passe. The weaker that any thing doth appeare, the more expedient and necessarye it is to seeke for helpe

Dedicatorye.

helpe and succour for the same: the more simple that this translation is, the more neede it hath of sure protection and defence. ¶ Wherefore when as sir Edmonde Brudenell, the chiefe causer and doer in settinge forth of this worke, had conferred together with me as concerning the publishing hereof, and had not yet determined to whom chieflye it might most conueniently be dedicated: your honour amongst al others came to our remembraunce, for manye and sundry causes, as most worthye of so excellent and passinge knowledge therein contained: Not that these thinges maye seeme vnknown to your honour, but beinge ouerseene perused and allowed of the same, might more safelye come abroade and therby deserue the better fauour and acceptation of all the Readers thereof: as allowed of him, whose noble actes as wel within the Realme as without on euerye syde, haue alwayes from time to time so well appeared. Pleaseth it your honour therefore to accept in good parte this homelye and simple worke, offered by vs of verye true and hartye loue: on sir Edmondes behalfe, as a declaration of the inwarde and vsfayned good will that he doth beare towards your honour: and on my behalfe as a testimoniall both of like good will, and also of my verye bounden dutye: which now manye yeares latelye passed, haue receiued a liberall annuitye or stipende

The Epistle

stipende of your honoure, whereby I haue bene the better able to expresse suche poore knowledge as I had, or at least my good will, not onely in setting forth of this present worke, but also in that trade, which I haue professed a long time, as I trust to the honour of Almighty God, and also to the benefite and profit of my country. And wheras here I haue communicated the settinge forth of this treatyse wth him that hath beene the only and chiefe occasion of first takinge the same in hand, I thinke he maye of verye righte challenge the greatest commendation thereof (if anye be) who ayded mee not onely wyth his good aduyce, but also wyth Bookes, which els where I could not haue had for the accomplishmēt of the saide translation. And to speake vnsaynedlye my owne labour and trauayle can loke for no manner of prayse at all, excepte peraduenture the only commendation of painfull and saythfull diligence, whiche as Vegetius sayth himselfe, is here more requisite, then elegancye and finenes of wordes: not addinge therevnto anye thinge of myne owne, after the maner of a Paraphrast to dilate the matter more at large wyth a curious and eloquent stile: but vsinge onely the office of a translatour, plainlye and compendiouslye expressing so neare as I could, the true sense and meaning of the Author.

Wherefore if this my endenour maye be accepted

of

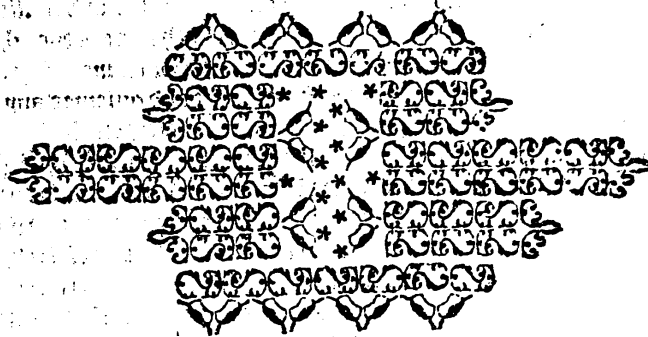
Dedicatorye.

of your honour, I thinke it a greater commendation, then eyther I can deserue or iustlye looke for: as thereby muche boldned and encouraged to take like paynes hereafter, if good and meete occasion may serue thereunto.

From Oundell the first daye of October 1571.

Your honours most humble, saythfull, and continuall Oratoure:

John Sadler.



A Preface to the Reader.



The common-
tytes of
peace.

The calamity-
tyes of warre

The happye
estate of Eng-
lande, vnder
Queene Eliza-
beth.

The difference of peace and warre is ap-
parant to all men. Howe much the one is to be
desired, the other to be eschewed. (excepte in
some respectes hereafter declared, no man I
thinke is ignoraunt. If I should but touch
the garnes & commodities of peace: howe
quyte & pleasantly men do liue together: howe
if thinges on the earth do encrease and multi-
plye: howe wealth and riches do abounde: howe all maner of sciences
and good learninge do flourish, with other innumerable effectes there
of to long here now to be recyted: it would requyre a large and a great
volumine, not a shorte and compendious pfeace. Againe, howe great
calamities and destructions through warres haue happened, not ones-
lye to Citties, townes and forresses, but also to mighty Princes with
their armies, greate multitudes of people, and whole nations & coun-
tries: a man might spende a good part of his time to reade throughe
the bookes that hath bene witten thereof. But the more commodi-
ous, precious and necessarye that pleasaunt and ioyfull name of peace
is to be accompted, so much more earnestlye it ought to be sought for,
obtainned and preserved: the greater daungers harmes and losses that
are by warres sustayned, the greater heede foresighte and pollicye to
withstande the same, is to be vsed. Neither hath there bene, that I
haue hearde or reade of, anye common wealth or Realme so fortunate
and blessed, that it hath enioyed continual peace and quietnes any long
time, excepte the Prince of peace, euen God himselfe, which also is the
Lord of Hostes, haue taken in hand the defence thereof. Which thing
no doubt of his abundant goodnes he sheweth vpon certayne people
and countreys, when as he sendes them good and gractous Princes,
wise and godly gouernours. Which ruled by the spirite of God, may
so order & keepe the whole common wealth and state of their Realme,
throughe their great wysdome learninge and pollicye, that no disobe-
dience of subiectes to theyr Prince may be founde vncorrected, no dis-
quietnes or trouble amongst them vnappeased, no force of forraigne
enemies vnforescene, vnwithstoode, vnrepelled. In which happye
estate that this our Realme of England at this present is, and hath al-
so continued euen from the first beginning of this our most noble and
gracious Queenes maiestyes raigne: All true and faythfull English
hartes to their great ioye must needes acknowledge, yeldinge to God
the onely Authoz thereof, most manifestlye and hartlye thanks for the
same: most humblelye beseechinge his eternall goodnes longe to pre-
serue her excellent maiestye to rule ouer vs: whose most noble raigne
beinge

To the Reader.

being not onely most happye throughe the lightsome shyninge of gods
most holye word, the zelous setting forth thereof, and prosperous suc-
cesse of the same: but also fortunate and blessed, as well with great ab-
boundance and plentie of all kindes of frutes of the earth, as the con-
tinuall quiet and safe enioyng of them, maye be to all good Englishe
men a sure & euidente token of Gods highe fauour and especiall grace
declared ouer this Realme: and to all the worlde a spectacle of moste
wise and politticke gouernement. Whereas contrariwise it is not
vnknowen howe that a greate parte of the worlde nighe vnto vs, hath
these yeares late passed, eyther bene cruelllye afflicted with greuous
warres, or not altogether free and cleare from great vexations & trou-
bles. And although some of late here in this Realme hath gone about
by rebellion to impayre this state: yet as neyther they whiche haue at-
tempted such enterprises in former tymes haue bene knowne or harde
tell of at anye time to haue preuayled: so neyther these, nor whosoeuer
hereafter wilbe so madde to treade in such like steppes, can escape ey-
ther like successe as they haue had, or rather worse, to speake more tru-
lye, which they seeme iustlye to haue deserued. Seinge therefore that
the good pleasure and prouidence of God hath so prepared for vs, and
bestowed vpon vs such a pearlesse Prince, so noble and worthy coun-
sellors, that except men will be wilfullye blinde, they all maye see wyth
their eyes the goodnes of their gouernement: let all vs Englishe-
men as true and faythfull subiectes applie oure selues by all meanes
possible to obeye her maiestye, to keepe her lawes, to be ready alwayes
at her commaundement. Who ceaseth not to prouide, foresee, and care
for our safegarde, wealth and quietnes, as well in time of peace as in
warre. Which thinges partlye I touched before, and nowe occasion
serueth to speake more of the same againe. For although the one seeme
more to be wished for then the other, yet be they both, by the wil & plea-
sure of God, lefte in the handes of princes to be vsed as time and other
circumstances shall requyre. And for that Pax, seemeth to be deriued
a Pactione, as some do write: what time as Princes haue agreed and
concluded of good and holisome conditions of peace, so longe doth the
league of peace endure, as such conditions are well obserued & kept:
but if the same be ones violate and broken, then commonly do warres
ensue: whiche although they seeme neuer so troublesome and full of
daunger, yet must they needes be taken in hand, not only with strength
and manhoode, but also wyth skill and pollicye. For as after calme &
pleasant weather when sodainly a tempestuous storme doth ryse, then
by profe doth appeare what the gouernour of the shippe is able to do:
if hee lacke skill & knowledge, the shippe and all therein is like to pe-
rishe: if he be cunning and expert, he may deliuer it from shipwacke:

Rebellion ne-
uer prospered

Pax deriued
A pactione.

Peace resem-
bled to fayre
weather, woe
to foule wea-
ther.

A Preface

euē so when after longe continual peace, greuous warres do fortune, then do valiant Captaynes shewe their worthye manhoode, not with hardines alone but with pollicy and knowledge. Seeing therefore that as fayne weather manye times is altered with stormes and tempest, so peace oftentimes is changed to warres: what thing can be moxe expedient & necessarie to the comon wealth, then to haue in readines pollicie and valiant Captaynes, experte and manly souldiours: which with their skilfull experience and tryed knowledge, maye in dangerous times of warres do highe seruice to God, their Prince, and their countrey, while they fighte not onely for their owne liues, their wyues and children, but also for the common libertie and wealth of al, the honoure of their Prince, the defence and sauegarde of the whole estate.

For which intente and purpose the readinge not onely of the best hystoricall wyters both in Greke and latine, wherein most noble actes of famous Captaynes are liuely set forth as notable examples to be followed: but also of such worthye Authoꝝ as haue with great studie & trauaile, gathered out of the best hystories the chiefeest pointes and deuices of warres: and beinge dispersed farre abroad in manye diuers and sundrye booke, haue brought the same into a certayne forme and knowledge of the feates of armes: may seeme to all men of warre, and namelye to such, to whom the charge of great multitudes oftentimes is committed, neyther unworthy the readinge, nor altogether vnprofitable. Wherein in myne opinion this our Authoꝝ Flavius Vegetius obteyneth the chiefeest prayse: who beinge commaunded by Valentinianus Augustus, to put in wytyng the practises and deuises of Martiall pollicie, hath framed & compacte together such a worke, which he calleth Institutiōs, that it may be accompted, as it were a very methode or most ready & compendious waye to the right knowledge and science of the feates of warre. And although the warres in these oure dayes seeme muche vnlike to the Romaine warres before Vegetius tyme, by reason of a greate number of engines and other feates then vsed, whereof now many are out of vse, and many mo now inuented which then were vnknewen: yet maye this worke appeare not altogether unworthy to be knowen of our men of warre, wherein as it were in a glasse they may most clearely see, not onely how that the Romaynes throughe suche skill and knowledge, and continuall exercise therof as is herein declared, haue vanquished and ouercome so manye barbarous and straunge Nations, subdued so manye pꝛouinces, and become Lordes and rulers of the most part of the world: but also may gather and choose out the best and chiefeest pointes of all their knowledge, which neuerthelesse may be vsed so farre forth as shall seeme expedient, and as occasion may serue & time requyre. Wherefore whereas the whole worke of Vegetius is deuided into foure Bookes, I

The reading of hystories & other wyters of warre not vnmeet for Captaynes.

Vegetius the chiefeest wyter of warre.

An obiection answered.

The contentes of the.iii.

To the Reader.

thinke it not vnmeet to shewe byefelpe what is chiefeelpe intreated in euery one of the same.

In the first booke he setteth forth two thinges principallie. First the mustering, cholling, and appointinge of yonge souldiours: wherein he requireth of the choosers, most faythfull and painfull dilligence, that they do circumspectly consider and beue, not onely the countreyes and places where they were bred and brought vp, their age, their stature, their behauiour, the good making & propoꝛtion of their bodyes, the quickenes of their eyes and countenance: but also the trades and sciences wherein they haue bene most occupied & vsed, their strength, swiftnes, nimblenes & actiuitie: by which likelihoodes and tokens it might well appeare which would be most meete for so great a worke. And in the well choosing of these doth consist the chiefeest hope, not onely for the strength of the armie, but also for achieuing the victorie.

Secondly he setteth forth the trauinge vypp of the yonge souldiours well chosen, with daile vse and exercise: wherevpon it came to passe that an armie in latine was called Exercitus, to the intent it should be euer in labour & practise, and neuer forget to what ende it was so named. Wherein he first sheweth that they must learne and exercise to march in battell raze, to runne, to leape, to swimme, to strike handsomely, cunninglye to vse al kinde of weapons, to shoote, to cast darteres, to cast stones with slinges, or with hande, to mount on horses, to carrie weight, to fortifye the Campe, to casle and scoure trenches, with other kindes of exercises to long here at this time to be recyted.

In the seconde booke he deuiderh the feates of warre into certaine kindes, he describeth the partes of an armie, which amonge diuers nations were diuersly named: but the Romaines called them Legions, Ab eligendo, which word he sayth requyꝛeth their fayth and diligence, by whom the souldiours are to be allowed or refused. He sheweth how many cohorts or bandes of souldiours should be in one Legion, how many or how fewe Legions the Romaines vsed to leade in one armie, he setteth forth the names and degrees of the principall men of the host, he declareth the offices of all the Captaynes and gouernours, the lieutenant, the Martiall, the Centurions, peticaptaines, and all other rulers and officers of the whole armie: he describeth the troupes of the horsemen, and as well the names, as the offices of the Captaynes of euery bande. Manye other thinges also hee toucheth concerninge the Standerds, banners, ensignes and flagges, yea and the offices of the Trumpetters, by whose sound it is knowen when the souldiours should set forward to any worke, when they should fighte or stape, when they should followe the chafe, or when they should retyꝛe. Thus with manye other notable thinges to be knowen, and partlye with a belement exhortati

bookes of Vegetius.

The. 1. booke

An armie in latine called Exercitus ab Exercitio.

The. 2. booke

Legio ab eligendo.

A Preface

hortation to the diligent exercise of the feates of warre, and partly with a brieue rehearsal of certaine tooles and engines, used to be caried with the armie, he concludeth the seconde booke.

The 3. booke

In the thirde hee teacheth howe an armie well appointed and instructed, as is aforesaid, maye now be brought to the fieelde and ioyned with the aduersaries. But first hee sheweth howe the health of the hoast should be preserved: what regarde should be had that graine forage and victualles should be provided for and kepte: howe the chiefe Captaynes should keepe the souldiours in quiet from sedition and uprore: howe warelye and circumspectlye the armie should be ledde, when at any time it remoueth: howe to passe ryuers, and other dangerous places. How greate consideration oughte to be whether they should fight in skirmithe, or set battell: the chiefe Captaynes great carefulnesse before they ioyned battell, in tryinge the courage of his souldiours, in chosinge amette place for to fighte in, in settinge them in suche order and aray that they be not easelye ouercome. Which thinges for that they cannot be comprehended in fewe wordes, and the Authoꝝ discourseth of them at large in many Chapters, I referre the Readers to the selfe same Authoꝝ, who doth so perfectlye set forth such notable deuises and pollicies, such skilfulnes and knowledge, such providence & warenes, as ought to be in such a man, to whom the worthy honours of so greate power and authoritie are ascribed, that vnto his fidelitie, vertue, and manhoode (that I maye here vse the very wordes of Vegetius) the defence of Citties, the lues of the souldiours, the renoune of the common wealthe, may safelye be committed. After these, he declareth certaine generall rules of warre, and so endeth his thirde booke.

The 4. booke

In the fourth booke he treateth of the besseginge and defendinge of Citties: wherein he first speaketh of the buildinge and fortifyinge of the same: and what foresight should be if a Citie be besseged, that it suffer not famyne: what pollicy may be used, if water, salt, stryngs, or cordes and suche like should faile in the Citie. He rehearseth also a number of engines and much ordinaunce used in those dayes in the besseginge of Citties: the description whereof who so list to know more at large, let him reade the tenth and eleuenth booke of Robertus Valturius. Also he geueth certaine preceptes and rules of warres vpon the sea: in which he sheweth what kinde of shippes were most necessarye and commodious for that purpose: and howe diligently the same were made: in what monethes and seasons of the yere timber should be felled: he nameth and nombzeth the windes: he sheweth when it is good to saile, & when not: he speaketh of certayne signes and tokens, wherebye mariners maye foreknowe fayre weather or foule, calme or tempest

To the Reader.

tempest: then describing certayne armour and ordinaunce for shippes, he brievely teacheth howe to lye in waite, and also howe to ioyne open battell on the sea: and thus endeth he his fourth and last booke of the institutions of warre. In all whiche worke brievely and plainly is contained, not onely (as I saide before) a methode or compendious waye, but also a perfect knowledge and arte of warre: to the which if painefull diligence and experience be ioyned, what let should be, but that no lesse worthines and excellencye appeare in warr iours of these our dayes, then hath bene founde in the most famous Captaynes before our time: to the which not experience alone brought them, but diligent learninge and studyinge of the feates of warre, written and set forth both by hystorycall writers & Poets, and by such also as this our present Authoꝝ Vegetius is. Innumerable examples mighte be here recyted, but passing ouer all the residue for shortnes of time, two of the chiefe may suffice. Alexander the great, who in short space subdued the greatest part of the world, had alwayes the Poet Homer layd vnder his beddes heade, in whom he might behoulde the office as well of excellent Princes, as of most worthy Captaynes.

Iulius Caesar, howe greatlye he was geuen to this kinde of studie, it doth most euidentlye appeare by such notable bookes as he hath written and intitled Commentaries. And surely in mine opinion, it seemeth a farre better and shorter waye to attaine to the name of a worthy and perfecte Captaine to ioyne experience vnto knowledge, then to get knowledge by experience. For mans life being short and subiect to many casualties, oftentimes is cutte off before it can come to anye such perfection as is requyred in an excellent man of warre: whereas small experience with diligente readinge and perfecte learninge of feates of ware, maye frame and make manye politticke Captaynes in a shorter space. I do not meane that knowledge withoute experience, can do anye great thinge at all: but beinge ioyned both together, doubtles they maye be as able to bringe to passe as great and marvellous thinges in valiant men in these our dayes, as they haue bene in manye noble men before our time, as namely in those most worthy and famous conquerours, whom partly for breuities sake, partly for honours sake I mentioned before: whereof Alexander the great (as Iustine and others do witnes) neuer foughte with anye enemyes, whom he did not vanquish and ouercome: and howe Iulius Caesar did proue it, his hystories do declare, who being much inferiour in number to his enemyes, was so skilfull and experte in the ordering of his battelles, that as it were before throughe assured, he woulde foretell to his men, even in this bande (naminge and paintinge oute the same) shall consist the victorie: which should afterward even so come to passe as

Experience
ioyned with
knowledge,
bringeth great
thinges to
passe.

Alexander
the great.

C. Iulius
Caesar.

Better to
ioyne experience
to knowledge,
then to
gette knowledge
by experience.

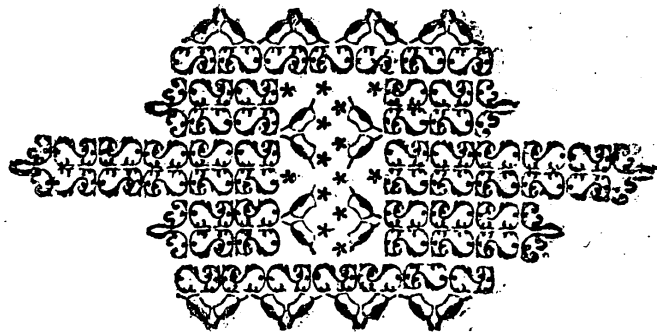
The notable
skilfulnes of
Iulius Caesar.

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as you maye reade in the greatest and last conflict betweene him and Pompeie, besides other places in the thirde booke of the Romayne-ciuill warres

Presupposinge that I haue sayde sufficientely for the exhortinge of thee gentle Reader to the ouerlookinge of this booke: as well for the necessarye matter therein contayned, as for causes by occasion chauncinge from time to time, whereby the same matter maye neede to be practised: with hope of thy good pardon for anye my faultes whatsoever, as thou mayest seeme rather to encourage then discourage mee: I committe thee to Almightye G D D, and to the readinge of my Authoꝝ Flavius Vegetius, rudelye, yet profitably herester speakinge in English.

Farewell.



Christophori Carli Saphphica.



Rte qui quauis patriam tuetur,
In domo diuūm locus est paratus:
Id facit Sadler: patet ergo coeli
Porta supremi.

Nonne constanter patriam tuetur:
Qui modos tradit quibus amouentur
Hostium fraudes, furiaē rebelles,
Insidiaꝝ:

Scire vis turmas equitum locare:
Copias crebras peditum: legantur
Quæ dat interpret Vegetj latini
Ore Britanno.

Scire vis quid sit manus, atq; turma:
Quid cohors, alæ, legio, balista:
Quidq; sit quincunx, aries, duelli
Cornua bina:

Scire vis qui sit locus atq; tempus:
Machinaē martis: celeres biremes:
Classium portus: sonitus tubarum
Palladis arma:

Bellicum quid sit: lituus sonorus:
Telabellonæ: docet id polita
Arte Sadlerus: facit, vt regustet
Angla inuentus.

Anglicæ publi dedit hæc legenda
Cura Sadleri: monumenta sunt
Digna, quæ cedro simul ac cupressu
Perpetuentur.



Thomas Dranta

Bella virosq; canit Sadlerus tempora belli,
Castra acies fossas, spicula, tela, duces.
Perbellè facit is, bellum qui rite repandit:
Aurea per bellum pax solet effere dux.
Edocuit bellum, bellum Deus ipse probauit:
Si bellum, belli tunc probat illi librum.
Sic Sadlere tibi multum pax bellaq; debent:
Sic Deus & librum, te probat atq; tuum.

Thomas Drante

To wyte of peace is good, to wyte of warre is gape
and good, for God himselte taught Dauids hands to fraye:
Warre faughte right is good, such warre doth Sadler tell:
the fact he doth is right, the worke he wytes is well.

In I. Sadlerum eiusque versionem

Guilielmus Iacobus.

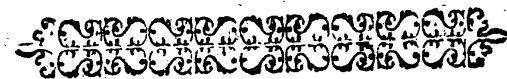
DVra quod vt nuper, nunc non sint scripta Vegeti,
Dic cuius studio, cuius & ingenio:
Dic mihi quis castris Anglus, quistantus in armis:
Sic quis ad arma vocet, sic sua castra locet:
Dic quis tam doctus sic explicat omnia doctè,
Sic aptè loquitur, sic sua bella parat:
Deniq; dic quis sit sapienter tempore in isto
Adfert qui patriæ commoda tanta suæ:
Vnus is è multis, vel dicam, ex omnibus vnus,
Qui facit vt durum hoc non videatur opus:
Qui dedit effigiem belli quasi clarus in armis,
Bella parans isto commodiora modo:
Qui doctè scripsit, posuit nec quid nisi rectè:
Qui prudens isto tempore bella parat:
Est is Sadlerus qui sic sentitq; sapitq;:
Hec fiunt studio cuius & ingenio.

In Vegetium quem I. S. An-

glicè loquentem fecit,

Guillemi Charci carmen.

CAstra quid & campi possint, virtusq; dolusq;
Scripsit Vegetius: nobile Martis opus.
Quas habeant artes terrestria praelia, scripsit,
Et quæ Neptuni bella geruntur aquis.
Quas teneant equites classes, peditesq; phalanges
Et qui cui turmæ fortior ordo fiet:
Vt celeres alæ possint volitare per agros,
vt possis cuneos hostibus incutere:
Vt formas formæ superent, vtq; hostibus hostes
Fortius occurrant, agminaq; agminibus:
Hæc eadem Martis, magna ornamenta, potentis:
Aptum opus & gratum, terra Britannia tibi:
Sadlerus sermone dedit cultuq; Britanno.
Vtere, nam rebus maximus vsus inest.



William Bulleyne

The fruites of fearefull warre, eche wight maye plainly knowe:
It is the rodde from God aboue, to vs that dwell belowe.
A blessing rich it is in deede, where God doth winne the feld:
Or els a triple plague (God wotte) to vse the sword or shielde.
By warre most lands & Citties great were worne and still do stand:
By warre Nauyes and gallies swift haue gayned many a lande.
Euen so great fortres and walled townes by warres are ouerthrowne:
Sometime (agayne) the Nauyes great in stormes are overblowne.
And captiues great in bondage ledde, which neuer backe returns
And bloudye coppes in streete lye dead: the fyre consumes & burnes.
The buildinges fayre, and antiques olde: inbedde the childe is slaine:
The Temples huge are cast a downe: nothinge doth els remaine.

But

William Bulleyne

But hunger plague, & bloudy woundes: þe mother her child doth eate:
Dunge is daintye to hungrye slaues, when they do dye for meate.
Why then feare God, loue wel your Prince, esteeme þe man of warre:
For they do garde eche common wealth, & chase thine ennemye farre.
Geue peace good God in these our dayes, for thou dost for vs fight
Preferue the Church, defende þe Queene, and people daye and nights.
And Sadler then for his rewarde due prayes let him haue:
Take in good part his diligence, els nothing doth he craue,

The Prince to chiefe rule,
The Preacher to the worde:
The Lawyer to the skroule,
The Souldiour to the sword.
The Marchant to the purse,
The thrasher to the flayle,
The sheapehearde to the flocke:
The mariner to the sayle.

John Higgins.

As warre hath wonne eternall fame, & found a lasting prayse,
As war hath kingdomes great preferude, & kept the frō decayse
So sure the feates of warre do passe, which if thou canst attayne:
Shall cause the winne the field, and liue, to see thy ennemye slaine.
This Sadler by translating of, Vegetius shewes so well:
That thou by practise mayest attaine, and therein soone excell.
Foure bookes there are, the first doth teache, to muster and to chuse;
And after choyle what exercise, to practise learne and vse.
The next declares how weghtye warre, deuoyded is in partes,
Howe legions, wings, & armyes stands, and teacheth eche their artes.
The thirde of good prouision shewes, & how the armyes knit:
Which way to skirmishe fight & frame, your force with wyles of wit.
The last doth teache howe Cityes maye, prepare for their defence:
And telles what engines erst were vsd to drue the ennemyes thence,
Likewyse what shippes on soueright seas, in tyme of warre do well:
By Sea what wyles & weapons cause, the souldiour to excell.
In such a sort are these so pende, by Sadlers painfull skill:
Vegetius teacheth Englishmen the feates of warre at will,
And learnes himselfe a language straunge, he erst he wist before,
Thus he by Sadler taught, of warre doth teache and learneth more.

Sadleri carmen ad præcedentia.

C Vius hæ laudes nisi Brudenelli ?
Militis clari, atq; equitis Britannii ?
Cuiq; si quid sit, meritò putetur
Maius honore ?

Quicquid huius sit studij, laboris :
Huius hortatu patriæ tributum :
Vna causa, & fons fuit iste primus,
Solus & author.

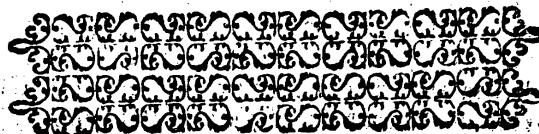
Si tamen verum volumus fateri :
Nemo, præterquam Deus ipse solus
Dignus est, sic cui tribuenda laus sit,
Omnis honorq;.

The same.

To whom are all these prayes due, and more then these, by right ?
but to say Edmonde Brudenell that worthye Englishe knight :

Whatsoeuer frute may by this worke redounde vnto this lande,
at his request the same was done, and taken first in hande.

But if the truth we will confesse : no man, but God in thronē,
is meete, to whom al laude and prayse ought to be geuen, alone.



A COMPENDIOUS treatise of the Institutiōs of warre, writ-

ten by *Flavius Vegetius*, a famous Author, vnto
Valentinianus Augustus, gathered oute of the
Commentaries of Cato, Celsus, Traianus,
Hadrianus, and Frontinus.

The Prologue of the first Booke.



He maner hath beene of olde time to
write the studies of good sciences, & the same
orderlye brought into bookes, to dedicate vnto
Princes. Because neyther anye thinge is
well begonne, excepte the chiefe Prince after
God shal like well thereof: neither doth it be-
come any man to knowe eyther better thinges,
or moe things then h Prince, whose knowledge
may be profitable to all his subiectes. Which knowledge that Octa-
uius Augustus and other good Princes after him, willinglye haue had
and practised, it is declared by manifolde examples. By that meanes
through the testimony of rulers, hath eloquence encreased, and yet ad-
uenture beene by no meanes blamed. Beinge compelled by this imi-
tation, when I consider that your clemencie, moze then others, maye
pardon the bolde enterprises of learning: I haue not greatly percey-
ued my selfe to be so much inferiour to the olde writers, (although in
this worke, neyther elegancie of wordes, nor sharpenes of witte is ne-
cessarye, but dilligent and faythfull labour) that those thinges whiche
beinge scattered and darckelye written by diuers Historiographers, &
such as teache the schole of armes, hydde and vnknowne, maye of mee
be set forth openlye for the commoditie of the Romaines. Therefore as
touchinge the choysing and trayning of young souldiours, I do meane
by certayne degrees and titles to represente the aunciente maner: not
that these thinges may seeme vnknowne to you, most puissant Empe-
rour, but to proue that the first beginners of the Romaine Emperre,
haue heretofore obserued, what thynges you at this time for the safetie
of the comon wealthe do willinglye practise: & to shew you howe to finde
oute of this little booke for all most waightye and necessarye affayres,
whatsoever may appeare at all times most requisite.

That the

*That the Romaines, through the
only exercise of armes haue overcome
all Nations.*

The first Chapter.



In any maner of warre, not so much
in the great nūber of men & manhood
without skyll, as in knowledge and
practise, doth consist the victorie. For
why we see that by no other meanes
the Romaines haue subdued h whole
worlde vnto them, but by exercise of
armes, the exacte knowledge of en-
camping, and vse of warre. Howe coulde els the Romaines
being but a fewe, haue preuayled against the Frenchemen
being so many in nombze? How durst els the sayd Romaines
being of so small stature, haue aduentured against the Ger-
maines being so highe and tall? It is very euident that the
Spaniardes not onely in multitude, but also in strengthe of
body, haue excelled our men. With the Aphricans in subtil-
tie and ryches, we were neuer comparable. No man at any
tyme hath doubted, but in sciences & wysedome, the Grekes
haue farre passed vs. But alwayes we founde it profitable to
those an actiue and wysse souldier, to teache hym, if I may so
terme it, the lawe of armes, to confirme his knowledge by
dayly exercise, to make him vnderstande by trayning hym at
home, suche thynges as may befall in battayle abroade: and
sharply to take punishment of the dull and slouthfull soul-
diour. For the knowledge of warre maketh men moze bolde
to fight. No man feareth at any time to doe that whiche hee
perswadeth him selfe he hath thzoughly learned. Surely in
battayle a small nombze well practised, soner getteth the
victory, then a rude and vnskillfull multitude, alwayes in
daunger of slaying.

A

C Out

The first booke of Vegetius

¶ Out of what countreys a younge souldiour
should be chosen. Chapter. ij.

The order of thinges for our purpose doth require, that
in the first parte we intreate, out of what prouinces or
countreys younge souldiours should be chosen. For it
is mosse sure and euident, that in all places bothe cowardes
and hardie men be bredde. But yet, because one nation doth
excelle an other in warre, and the clymate of the heauē doth
very muche auayle, not onely to strengthen the body, but al-
so the minde, for in this place what is of the best learned men
mosse approued & allowed, I meane not to pretermite. They
say that all nations whiche be nigh to the Sunne, parched &
dried with ouer muche heate, haue moze witte in deede, but
yet lesse bloud within thē. And for that cause, they dare not
manfully & boldly stande to it when they fight, wel knowing
how litle bloud they haue, & feare much therfore wounding.
Contrariwise, the people of the North, whom the Sunne
burneth not so nere, being moze rashe and vnadvised, yet a
great deale better bloued, are mosse ready of all, & desirous
of warre. Out of the moze tēperate costes then should soul-
diours be chosen, whiche boch may haue bloud enough, and
so not force neither for hurting nor killing; & haue wisdomē
also sufficiēt, wherby wisely to kepe a moderate meane & ad-
visedly by circumspect counsel, to preuaile in their fighting.

¶ Whether out of the countrey, or out of the citie, yong
souldiours may be taken mosse conueniently.
Chapter. iij.

It foloweth that we knowe, whether out of the countrey
or out of the citie, a younge souldiour maye be chosen moze
conuenient. As concerning which part none, I thinke euer
doubted, but the common rude sorte alwayes was fittest for
the warres: whiche is brought vp abroade, & vseth to take
paine, that can abide sunne burning, that passeth not for the
shade, that neuer knewe what bathes ment, ignorant of de-
licatenes, simple of minde, content with a litle, hardened in
euery parte to abide & beare labour. Howbeit, sometime ne-
cessitie

of feates of warre.

Fol. 2.

cessitie so constraineth, that euen out of citie they be forced
to the warre. Suche therfore when they are ones made
sworne souldiours, let them learne to toyle & trauel, to tūne
to & fro, to cary burdēs, to abide hūnne & dust. Let thē fare
hardly & homely, let them sometimes be occupied abroade,
sometime in their cītes; then at the length let thē be taught
to vse their armour. And if the armie shall sojourne long a-
broade, they must be kept hard to their taske, & holden farre
from all allurements of the citie, that by this meanes boch
the strēgthe of their bodies and myndes may encrease. Nei-
ther is it to bee denied after the citie was buylded, that the
Romaines went alwayes out of the same vnto warre. But
then were they not weakened with pleasures of the bodie &
deliciousnes. The sweate which was gotten in running and
other exercise of Campus Martius, the youthe washte it
away with swimming in the ryuer Tyber. The warrior &
husbandman, were all one, onely they differed in kynde of ar-
moure. Whiche thing is altogether so true, that it is mosse
true, howe that vnto Quintius Cincinnatus, as he was at
plough, the greatest authoritie amongst the Romaines in
tyme of warre, the office Dictatura, was offered and geuen.
Out of the countrey therfore the force of the armie seemeth
chiefly to be supplied. For it comes to passe, I can not tell
howe, that hee lesse feareth death whiche hath tasted least
pleasure and deliciousnes in his lyfe.

¶ Of what age those younge souldiours should be, whiche
should be thought allowable. Chapter. iij.

Nowe let vs searche of what age it is conuenient that
wee chuse our souldiours. Verely if men wyll obserue
old custome, so soone as they growe any thing toward
mans state, about fourtene and fiftene yeaeres, euerye man
wyll graunte, they should appeare at the muster, for not on-
ly moze speedely, but also moze perfectly all thinges are lear-
ned whiche we learne in our younge tyme. Besydes, agilitie
and actiuitie, fitte for warre, as leaping & running, must be
tried and put in vs before the bodie be infeebled by age: for
it is readines gotten by former practice that maketh a good
souldiour.

souldiour. The younger sorte must be chosen as saith Salust, for no sooner were younge men able to awaye with warre, as they learned usually and painfully in the campe, the practise of the same. And it is better that a yonge man exercised should alledge that his age to fight is not yet come, then that he should truely lamente that the same were already passe. Let him also haue space and tyme to learne euery pointe thereof. For whether you will make a good horse mā, a good footeman, a good archer, or teache a man at armes all his numbers, places, and gestures: that he forsake not his standing, that he breake not araye: to caste his darte with good ayne and strength, cunningly to entrenche and driue his stakes, to welde his terget well, to awarde onerthwarte strokes, warely to auoyde blowes, and boldely to stryke his enemy: It semeth no small nor lyght point of warre. A souldiour in this sorte instructed, shal not be afrayd but take pleasure to fight with what so euer enemy in the fielde.

¶ Of what stature yonge souldiours should be chosen. Chapter. v.

Marius Consull of Rome, I knowe, alwayes chose younge souldiours of tall stature, so that he woulde allowe none for horsemen in the wynges and fronte of his battayle, but suche as were sixe foote hyghe, or siue & tenne inches at the least. But then was there moze plenty of people, & moze that followed the warre. For as yet had not ciuile dissencion spent awaye the flourishing youth of the cite. Therefore if neede so require, it is mete to haue regarde moze of strengthe then of stature, and that we are not herein deceiued, we haue Homere for wytnes, who declareth that Tideus was but small of personē, but yet of good courage and stomake.

¶ To knowe by the countenance and making of the body whiche souldiours are like to proue good.

Chapter. vij.

¶ He that

HE that wyll goe about to muster men, must be verpe carefull that by the continuance, by the eyes, by the sure compacting and ioyning of the lymmes, he chose them whiche may be able to perfourme the parte and dutie of souldiours. For not only in men, but also in horses and in dogges, the chiefe power is signified by many tokens, as the best learned men haue declared in their wytynges, and as also the Poete Virgill speaking of Bees, thus noteth to be obserued.

Of bees two sortes there are, but yet the better sure is hee,
With semely coate that semeth so of golden hewe to bee:
The other grosse and full of slouth, deserues no prayse we see.

Let the young man therefore that shalbe a souldiour, not looke drowisely, let hym be straichte necked, broade breasted, let his shoulders be well fleshte, let him haue strōg fyngers, longe armes, a gaunte belly, slender legges, the calfe and feete not to full of fleshe, but knitte faste with harde and stronge synowes. Fynding these tokens in a souldiour, you neade not greatly complayne for wante of tall stature. For moze requisite it is that souldiours be stronge and valiant, then huge and great.

¶ What sciences yonge souldiours should be skilful in, whiche should be either chosen or refused. Chapter. vij.

It followeth diligētly to be knowen what sciences yonge souldiours should haue learned, that are either to be admitted or vterly refused. I suppose that fishers, fowlers, Pastourers, linnen weauers, and whosoever that dealeth with any thing that betokeneth a womanish nicenes, should be vterly banished the campe. Smythes, Carpēters, Butchers, Vinters of the harte and wyld boares, maye moste conueniently be called to warre. And herein consisteth the safetie of the whole common wealthe, that wee choose our souldiours, not so muche for goodly bodie as for manly courage of minde. The strengthe of the realme, and the name

A iii

of the

The first booke of Vegetius

of the Romaynes lieth in the firste examining of th the souldiours that are chosen. And let none thinke this a small office, and euerywhere to be committed to euery one, whiche of dyuers vertues that Sertorius had, was thought of the olde Romaynes to be chiefest, and moste commendable for youth, vnto whome the defence of countreys, and fortune of warre is to be committed, ought to come of a good stocke if it may be, and also be wel conditioned. Because honestie maketh a mete and able souldiour: for whyles they dare not flie for shame, they thereby get the victorie. To what vse should we trayne and byynge by a coward, to let hym remayne in the campe and spende wages vpon hym? Neuer Sped that armie well in battayle, wherof, hee that tooke the muster, was any thing negligent in allowyng the souldiours. And for as muche as vse teacheth, and we finde by experience, herof procede euery where so many discomfitures and damage by the enemy: whyles to long peace causeth vs make so negligent and carelesse choise of our souldiours, whyles the honest are suffered to folowe the citezens trade, whyles yong souldiour loth to leaue their masters, dissemble & matter that they be fauoured and borne withall, whyles suche fellows are made out as their maisters are weare of, and therefore wyllingly forgoe them. Circumspect men for this cause with as circumspecte diligence muste of this younger sorte chose both meete and able persones.

¶ What tyme younge souldiours should
be registred and bylled.
Chapiter.viiij.

FOr all this, notwithstanding, vpon these foresayde tokens, a younge souldiour maye not by and by be bylled or presse, but wee must firste see by exercising hym what he can do, that wee may knowe certainly whether hee be a meete fellowe for so great a purpose. It is necessary that hee bee ready and stronge, wee must vnderstande whether hee can perfectly learne the knowledge and feates of armes, and

of feates of warre.

Fol. 4.

mes, and whether he hath a good souldiours stomake or no. For a great sort although by sight they seeme allowable, yet when they come to be tried, they are vntollerable. The lesse worthy therefore must be leste, and the worthier succede them, and be placed in their rounne. In euery conflict the multitude auayleth nothing so muche as manhode. Let the younge souldiours therefore after they are bylled, by continuall exercise learne the feates of armes. But a presumption of long securitie, hath brought these thinges out of vse. At home shall a man finde that is able to teache that whiche hee hym selfe hath not before learned: out of histories then or other authours, wee must learne againe that olde lesson. Yea, but they seeme to haue written the noble actes and successe onely of warres, leauing these which wee nowe doubt of, as thinges thoroughly and sufficiently known. The Lacedemonians, Atheniens, and other of the Greekes, haue written manye thinges in their bookes, whiche in their tongue are called Taktika, that is to saye, ordinarie matters pertayning to warre. But wee must searche out the martiall pollicie of the people of Rome, who, of small boundes haue enlarged their dominion, wel nighe to the regions of the Sunne, & extended the same nere to the worldes ende. This necessity compyled mee to ouerlooke manye authours, and in this present worke moste faithfully to sette forth what thinges Cato Censorius hath written of warre: what Cornelius Celsus, and what Frontinus hath briefely comprehended, and what Paternus, the moste diligent maintainer of the lawe of armes, hath orderly put in writinge. Al which thinges are provided for by Augustus, Traianus, and Adrianus constitutions. I challenge no manner authoritie to my selfe, but gathering of y forenamed, what things haue bene dispersed, make of them as it were abridgements called Epitomes.

¶ That younge souldiours be exercised in marching, running, and leaping. Chapiter.ix.

A liii.

The

The first and principall thing that a souldiour must be doing withall, is to learne howe to marche well. For there is nothing in iournyng or in battayle more to be obserued, then that all the souldiours do kepe their arraye, whiche can not well be done but by walking ofte apace, and iuste and euen one with another. For a confused and disordred armie, standeth ofte in great perill & daunger of the enemy. Therefore in fise howes, a souldiour must be able to go. xx. myles in sommer. But going a full pace, whiche is swifter, in as many howes he must be able to ride. xliiii. miles. A more spedie pace then this, is plaine running. The space wher of cannot be iustely limited. The yonger sorte must chiefly vse to runne, that with greater violence they may set vpon their enemies, that with more haste when nede is, they may take the more commodious places, or preuent their enemies if they would doe the lyke that, being made out for scoutes, they may more cherefully go forwarde, more readily retourn, & more easely ouertake their enemies whē they flye. To leaping also the souldiour must be vned, for iumpling of ditches, for passing depe places, whiche els might hinder them: that when such kinde of difficultes happen, they may goe over without any manner of trouble. Moreover, in the encounter & ioyning of battayle, when a warriour setteth forward running and leaping, he daunts his enemies eyes, and putteth him in marueilous feare, and sodainly stricketh him ere he can be ready to resiste, or by any meanes able to defende him selfe. And as touching the exercise of Pompey the great, Saluste in this wyle semeth to make mention. With the lightest in leaping, with the swiftest in running, with the strongest hee stroue in casting the barre. For he could not other wyle possible haue matched Sertorius, except he had with often and sundrie exercises prepared thus him selfe and his souldiours for the battayle.

¶ That yonger souldiours shoulde vse to swimme.
Chapter. x.

In sommer

In sommer euery younge souldiour with his fellows, should exercise swimming. For they shall not euer haue bridges ready to passe ouer ryuers withall, and when an armie retireth or hath his enemies in chase, it is oftentimes constrained to swimme. Sodaine howers of great snowes, make the waters bryake out, and by ignorance herein, souldiours are subiecte to daunger, not onely on the behalfe of the enemy, but also for drowning and perishing the selues. Therefore the auncient Romanes, whiche by so many warres and continuall perilles, came to be excellent in all warre matters, chose the feldes Campus Martius, hard by the ryuer Tyber, that in the same when they had leste exercising their weapons they might washe of cleane the sweate and duste. And when they were weary with running refreshed them selues with swimming. And it is very necessary that not alone the foote men be able to swimme, but also the horses them selues, yea, and the pages whiche they call Galearcos, that is to say head piece bearers, least the unskillfull miscarie when necessitie shall appoche.

¶ Howe warriers afore tyme caused their souldiours to vse for exercise wicker tergettes, and cudgels at a stake or poste.
Chapter. xj.

Ancient men as we finde in bookes, trayned by pong souldiours after this manner. They did wythe and make of twigges hurdlewise, rounde tergettes twise as heauy as a common terget. And the same olde captaines moreover, gaue the souldiours insteade of swordes, great woden cudgels as heauy agayne as their vsuall and wonted waders. And thus bothe in the morninge and at after noone, the younge souldiours were occupied at an exercise called the stake. And this vse of the stake, is not onely necessary for souldiours, but also for maisters of fence. Neither was any euer thought either in the place of exercise, or in the feld, a tried and balsamyt felldwe, that had not bene very well ex-

well exercised at y^e stake. And for euery souldiour was there a stake dyuen into the ground; so faste, that it might not stier: and so depe, that it might bee five foote aboue the ground. Against this stake, as against the enemy, the yong souldiour did aduance hym selfe with his wicker and his waster, as with a sworde & a buckeler. Sometime he stroke aloffe as it were at the heade or at the face, sometime hee made at the syde, sometime belowe at the legges, sometime hee would geue barke, sometime steppe in, sometime euen leape at it, and as earnestly and artificially would hee fighte with the same stake, as if his enemy had bene in place before him. In whiche custome of exercise, this was generallie to be obserued: that so the younge souldiour shoulde sturue to rennewe his enemy, that he hym selfe in no parte laye open to any blowe.

¶ That younge souldiours should be taught to fornye and shyfte, not to cutte and strike downe. right. Chapter. xij.

Furthermore, they did learne to picke, not to cutte. For suche as used to strike downe blowes, the Romaynes woulde easely ouercome, and besides laughe at them, when they had done. A downe stroke come it neuer so violently, seldome killeth: by reason of armoure and bones, that defende the vitall partes. Contrariwise, a picke but two inches depe, dispatcheth a man: for running inwarde so, it must needs pearce the liuely partes. Besides, when a man reacheth vp to strike a downe stroke, hee lieth open, bothe of his arme and his syde: but casting a picke, a man is euerwarded, and the enemy hurte before the picke be spied. And certaine it is that the Romaynes used chiefly to fighte after this maner. Deuising for this cause a wicker buckler, and a wooden waster twyse againe so heauy as was customable, that whē the souldiour should take in hande the wonted and lighter weapons in dede, hee might vnburdened, as it were, fight both moxe easely, and also moxe cherefully.

¶ That

¶ That younge souldiours be taught cunningly to handle weapons. Chapter. xiiij.

Moreouer, the younge souldiour must bee perfectly instructed, cunningly to handle his weapon: whiche thing is set forth by them that teache the same in the fieldes, or other places of exercise, the whiche vse yet in some parte is kepte. For it is playne that enen now, in all maner of battayles, those that can best vse and handle their weapons, doo fighte a great deale moxe conuenientlye then others. Wherein the difference may bee perceined betwene a well practised souldiour, and him that hath had litle or no exercise: when as they that are but meanely this waye instructed, farre passe and goe beyonde their fellows in artificiall and cunning fighting. And so carefully did our auncestours obserue this practised discipline, that thei doubly rewarded the teachers thereof. And as for the souldiours whiche had but smally profited in this same practise, in steade of wheate wer sayne to take barley, and not one of the had euer any wheate breade geuen him, till in the presence of the lieutenant, the captaines and suche as were chiefe, they had shewed by sure proofes that they had fulfilled all thinges whiche were to be required in a good souldiour. For there is nothing moxe sure, moxe happy, nor moxe commendable then such a common wealth, whiche hath plenty of experte and learned souldiours. It is not glistering and gaie apparell, it is not plenty of golde, silver, & precious stones, that makes the enemies to stoupe or seke for fauour, but the onely terrour of weapons that subdueth the. Besides, in other thinges, as saith Cato, if ought be done amisse, it may afterwarde be amended: but a fault committed in battaile, is altogether past cure, whē present punishment followeth by and by vnder the queff sight. For either they are forthwith slayne whiche haue cowardly or ignorauntly foughte, or els being once put to flight, they dare not euer after deale and encounter againe with those that ouercame them.

¶ That younge souldiours should vse to caste darters and other shot. Chapter. xiiij.

But I returne to the same wherewith I begonne. The younge souldiour whiche is exercised with the cudgell at the post, must at the same post caste dartes, as it were at a man, but muche more heauie must those dartes be, then suche as afterwarde he shall by occasion vse in deede. In whiche exercise, the teacher of this maisterie, must take diligent heede, that euery one whurle his speare stronglie, that with good leuell he hitte the poste, or els goe very nere it. This exercise maketh a man strong in the armes, and very expert also in whurling and casting.

¶ That younge souldiours should be diligently taught to shoote
Chapter. xv.

Almoste the thirde or fourthe parte of younge souldiours, suche as were thoughte fittest to make archers, with wooden bowes and arrowes for the same, were wont for exercise to shoote also at the stake. For this purpose were there teachers chosen, and cunning fellows in deede, diligently to take heede that the souldiour helde his bowe well and cunninglie as hee shoulde doe, that hee stode home and stronglie, that his lefte hande were ever ready, that he ruled his ryght hande well, that he eyed and mynded the marke altogether at the whiche hee woulde shoote: that whether hee were on horsebacke or on foote, he endeouored to shoote euer as straight as could bee. Whiche arte both had neede to be learned diligently, and also with daylie vse to be kept continually. And how necessary and profitable good archers are in battell, Cato in his booke of the knowledge of feates of warre plainly declareth. And Claudius with archers well practised before, ouerrame that enemy, with whom til then, he was neuer able to deale. Merely Scipio Aphricanus, when he shoulde ioyne battaile with the Numantines, whiche had sometime subdued the armie of the people of Rome, thought it was not els possible for him to get the victorie, except he placed in euery bande a certaine of chosen archers.

¶ That

¶ The younge souldiours should be vsed to cast stones with a slinge, or with the hande.
Chapiter. xvj.

It is conuenient that the younger sorte bee diligentlie exercised in casting stones, either with handes, or with slinges. They, whiche firste inhabited the Isles called Balears, are reported to haue firste founde out and deuised the vse of slinging, and so carefully besides to haue exercised the same, that the mothers would suffer their little boyes not to eate any meate, but that whiche they had stricken and kyllen with a slinge. And oftentimes rounde stones thzowen leuell out of a slinge or slingestaffe, against warriours fenced with helmettes, cossettes, and coates of plate, are more greuous then anye kynde of arrowes: when as vnto those partes whiche be whole and safe, they do bring a deadly wound: and without annoiance of bloud, the enemy is forthwith slaine with the stroke of the stone. Very well knownen it is that in all battayles of the old auncient men, slingers haue bene allowed: and because to carie a slinge is no labour at all, euery souldiour therefore must often vse this exercise. For sometyme it falleth out, that in stony places a skirmishe may be had: that some highe grounde or hille, shal neede defending: that with stones and slinges, the forayne enemies must be dyuen from the assaulte of towne and cities.

¶ Of the exercise of leaden plummettes.
Chapiter. xvij.

The exercise also of leaden plummettes, whiche they call Martiobarbulos, as who saye weapons of Mars the God of battell, shoulde be taught younger souldiours. For not longe agoe, in the Illirian sea, there were of late two legions to the numbze of sixe thousande, who, for that they handled these weapons manfullye and skilfully, were called Martiobarbuli. By these for a long space it is certaine that all warres were very valiantly ended. In so muche

much that till Dioclesian and Maximian were Emperours, it was thought good that these aforesayde, for their prowes and manhoode, deserued worthely to bee named Martiobarbuli, Iouiarii, and Herculanii, as who shoulde saye, the champions of Mars, Iupiter and Hercules. And they by commaundement were preferred before other legions, and their vse was to carie fine of these kyndes of plimettes within their tergettes: whiche if the souldiours could hanfomely and conueniently caste, they that were armed with tergettes, seemed in a maner to doe as good seruice as those they call archers. For they wounde the enemies, and gall their horses, before they can come not onely to fighte bande to bande, but also to the stroke and daunger of the dart.

¶ How the yonge souldiours should be exercised to vaulte or mounte on horses.
Chapiter. xvij.

Not onely of the yonge souldiours, but also of stipendiarie souldiours, the vaulting of horses hath alwayes bene straightly looked to. Whiche vse verely hath continued to this our age, although they would haue it seeme nowe as though it were not so. Horses of woode in wynter were set in a house, in sommer in the open feld. Upon these the yonge sorte were compelled to mounte, at the first without armour, buttill with vse and exercise, they could doe indifferently well, afterwarde in their harneis they were forced to doe the same. And so great regarde was there hereof, that they learned, not onely on the right syde, but also on the lefte, bothe to gette of and on: yea, euen with drawn swordes, or long poles in their handes. And here was the commoditie of this continuall exercise, that these which in peace had plied this practise so diligently, when neuer so sudden a tumulte was moued in battayle, with the leaste warninge that coulde be, could mounte and horse them selves.

¶ That

¶ That yonge souldiours should vse to carie weyght and burdens. Chapiter. xix.

You should often force the yonge souldiours, to take by a thre score pounde weight, and to walke with the same a wonted souldiours space. And needeful is this for theim whome neede ofte compelleth, in many a shrewde journey to cary victuall and armour. Neyther should this be thought a harde matter, if great neede so require: for what can not dayly exercise overcome and make at lengthe very easie? That this foresayde kinde of exercise, the souldiours of forsetyme haue vsed, the Poete Virgill wytnesseth in these wordes.

Like as the Romaine scarce in armes like to his countrey guise,
Which heauy burden on his backe him selfe fast forwarde hyse,
And readie on his foe bntwaies doth set in battell wyse.

¶ What kinde of armour souldiours of olde tyme were wont to vse. Chapiter. xx.

Nowe is here fitte place to shewe with what kinde of armour and weapons the young souldiours should be furnished & fenced. But in this point the olde custome is utterly layde asyde. For although horsemen in armes did good, as we haue of the Gothians, Alanes and Hunnes for example, yet it is playne that the footemen were naked and vnarmed. For after the citie of Rome was builded, vnto worthie Grecians tyme, the armie of footemen was fenced bothe with coarfelettes & headpieces. But when the exercise of Campus Martius, by negligence & slouthfulness, was geuen ouer and discontinued, armour begon to seame heauy, & was not worne ofte of souldiours. Therefore firste they made a petition to the Emperours, that they might weare no more coarfelettes, after ward they might lay away their helmettes. And so when they should go to fight against the Gothians, being naked of their byesses, & hauing nothing of their heads, they wer oftentimes by the multitude of archers vanquished & ouercomen. And notwithstanding so many misfortunes which haue hapned euen

euē to the destructions of so mightie and great cities. No man hath regarde as yet to restore againe to the footemen, either their coarsetettes or headpieces: whereby it comes to passe that naked men in the forewarde in daunger euer of wounding, haue greater mynde of flying then they haue of fighting. What can an archer on foote do without harneis: without head piece: which can not holde his bowe and buckeler both together: What shall the standerd bearers doe in battayle, aduancing the ensigne with their lefte hande, & haue nothing to saue their heades or their brestes: May a footeman perchance, whiche seldome doth exercise & handle his armour, wyl thinke a brestplate troublesome & heauy. Howebeit, by daily vse he might well enough away withal, whiche, though it beare heauy thinges, yet neuer complayneth. But they, whiche wyl not take payne to carie auncient armour for their furniture, shall unfurnyshed beare the blowes awaye, and catche their deathes wounde. And that whiche is a greater grieffe, and more shamefull to be spoken of, either become captiue, or betraye their common wealthe by running away. So that eschewing exercise and labour, with y^e greatest shame that can be, they are slaine like beastes. Wherefore was an hoste of footemen of our auncetours a foortyme called a wall: but because the legions, besides their tergettes armed with dartes or other shotte, made a goodly glittering shewe also with coarsetettes and headpieces: in so muche that the archers were fenced on their lefte armes with splētes or gauntelettes. Footemē that had tergettes besides their coarsetettes and headpieces, were also constrained to harneis their right legges. And thus were they armed whiche fought in the forefront of the battayle, and were called Principes, as who saye the firste and foremost to perilles. And they, in the seconde order, whiche were called Hastati, that is to saye speare men: and they in the thirde order called Triarii, as who shoulde saye of the reare warde, ready in the thirde place to fighte. But these Triarii were wont to stoupe and keepe thē within the fence of their tergettes, leaste standing by they might be wounded

with

with their ennemyes weapons, and that when neede should requyre, hauing rested themselves so well, they might more vehemently assaulte and set vpon their ennemyes. And certaine it is that these often haue gotten the victorie, whē the spearmen before them called Hastati, haue bene slaine. The auncient warriours had also amonge their footemen, such as were called lighte harnessed men, as Slingers and other with lighte Armour, which chiefly were placed in the out sydes or winges, by whom euer the vnset was geuen, and these were of the swyftest and best exercised sort, neither were they very manye, because in retraying if necessite constrained, they were succoured and receyued of those in the forefront, so that the whole battayle stode still vnbroken. There hath a custome continued almost to this oure tyme, that al souldiours vsed cappes made of skynnes, which souldiours they called Pannonicos, deuised for this purpose, y^e the head peece shoulde not seeme heauie to any man in fighte, whiche did here alwayes somewhat on his heade. But the shotte whiche the armye on foote did vse, were called Pila, fastened with thynne yron to the foreparte of a triangle of nine inches, or a foote longe, which beinge faste in the Targette could not be cutte awaye, and beinge skilfullye and valiantlye directed, coulde easelye breake in sonder anye harnesse: of the which kinde there be verie fewe weapons now amonge vs. But the forrayne barbarous footemen that haue Shildes or Tergettes, do chieflye vse these Dartes, whiche they call Bebras: and of them they haue two or thre a peece. Moreouer we must know, that when the matter is tryed with Dartes, the souldiours must set their lefte feete before, for so in throwing they dartes when they step in with their right legge, the stroke is much more vehement. But when the matter is come to y^e pinch (as they terme it) and fight as it were at the halfe swoord, thē must their right feete be foremost, that they sydes be from their ennemyes, least they catche a wound, and that their right hand be readye to geue a blowe when neede is. Therefore it is manifest, that yonge souldiours shoulde be furnished and fenced,

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with all cunning and pollicie in fighting, and with all manner of armour and weapons. For needes must he fight moze boldely, that beinge safe of bresta and heade, standes not in feare of woundinge.

¶ Of the fortifyinge of Campes.
Chap. xxi.

The souldiours also ought to learne to fortifye their Campes, for there is not a moze safe, nor a moze necessarye thing in all warre. For whye, if the army be well planted, the souldiours so safe enbulwarked, boyde of all care passe ouer dayes and nights, yea euen though their ennemys besiege them, they are as safe as though they had a walled Cittie on their backs. But the knowledge hereof, is vtterlye come to nothinge: it is longe agoe, since that when any would pitch theyr Campes, they vsed to entrench them, and sette stakes before them: so that we haue knowen, when the forrayne horsemen as wel by daye as nighte, haue come of a sodayne manye armyes, manye times haue bene maruelously annoyed. But not onely the foole hardy without þ Campes suffer these things: but whē as by any chaunce in the forebattell they beginne to retyre, they haue not a defence of the Campe, where to saue themselves, & so are killed by like dogges: and so longe do they dye, as theyr ennemys please to pursue and chase them.

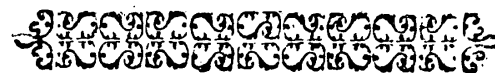
¶ In what places the Campe shoulde be pitched. Chap. xxij.

The Campe shoulde alwayes be placed, especiallye if the ennemys be nigh, in a place oute of daunger, whereas maye be plentye of woode, forage & water. And if there they be likellye to lye long, a consideration must be had, for the holsonnes thereof. They muste also take heed that there be no hill nigh, higher then the Campe, whiche if their ennemys take, they maye greatlye annoy them.

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theym. They muste also consider whether the fielde where they woulde encampe, hath beene wonte at anye tyme to be overflowed with sodayne waters: whiche by the like chaunce mighte force the hoast to remoue. Accordinge to the number of souldiours, and the carriages, þ Campe must be fortified, leaste the greater multitude be crowded into small rounge, or leaste the small number be constrained to stande a louse one from another, and moze scatteringe then is conueniente.



¶ In what forme the Campe shoulde stande.
Chapiter. xxij.

A Campe muste be pitched sometime fouresquare, sometime threesquare, sometime halferounde, as the qualite or necessitye of the place shall requyre. But the gate which is called Porta Prætoria, that is to saye, the gate for the Captayne, must be eyther Eastwarde, or els in suche a place that is full before the ennemye, or if they be iourneyinge, it muste stande that waye whether the armye meaneth to goe. Hard within this gate the first hundreds, (that is to saye) the chiefe bandes or companyes of souldiours do pitche theyr Pavilions and place their Standers. But the gate which is named Decumana, (that is saye) the greate gate or entree into the Campe is behinde the Captaynes gate, oute of the which suche souldiours as offende, are ledde to take theyr punishment.



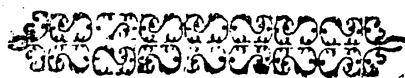
¶ With what thinges a Campe shoulde be fortified. Cap. xxiiij.

Diuers wayes a Campe may be fortified, & especiall thre wayes, for if they be not driuen to a marueylous pinch, they cut turfes out of þ ground, & wth the make a wall.

as wall as it were a wall three foote high about the ground, so that wher the turfes were digged, euen iust before it there be a ditch. Then in all hast must their be a ditch made nine foote broad and vii. foote deepe. But when ennemies of great force are at hande: the Campe must be fenced rounde about which a verie large ditch, so that it be by the line (as they call it) twelfe foote broad, and nine foote deepe. But after they haue set hedges about the same euery way with earth thowen out of the ditch, and cast vpon the hedges it will be reared foure foote highe, and thus shall it be .xiii. foote deepe, and xii. foote broad, about the which, must be stakes of very tough woode well entered, which the souldiours are wont to carry. For the which purpose it is good to haue alwayes in readines mattocks or spades, rakes, scutrels or baskets and other kinde of implemences.

¶ How a campe shoulde be fenced when the
ennemy is at hande.
Chapter. xxv.

It is an easie thinge to fortifye a Campe, when enemies are farre of, but if the ennemies do come faste vpon them, then all the horsemen and halfe the footemen, are set in battayle raye, to breake the brunte of the enemy: the residue behinde them, when they haue drawen the ditches, do fortifye the campe, and by a cryer is wont to be proclaimed what þ first companye hath done, what the second, what the thirde, what the fourth, vntill they haue finished all the whole worke. Then come þ Captaynes to beue and measure the ditch, and suche as haue wrought leasele and slouthfull ye are therefore punished. After this sorte thenne the yonge souldiour must be trayned, that when neede shall requyre hee maye by and by fortifye the campe withoute trouble.



Howe

¶ How the yonge souldiours maye be trayned, that in the battayle they keepe good order and theyr arraye, and space betweene one and another. Chap. xxvi.

It is certayne that there is nothinge more profitable in fight, then that souldiours exercise daylye themselves to goe in battayle in good order and arraye, neyther runninge on heapes, nor scatteringe abroad more then is expedient. For truly when they are thicke thronged together, they lose theyr space they should fight in, and euery one euery where letteth another: and when they stand thinne that eche maye be seene howe he standes, they shewe a waye to þ enemye to enter and go through the armye. And thus if the enemye shall cutte and parte the armye, & come to the backes of them that fight, verie feare must needs bringe all thinges out of order. Therefore the yonge souldiours must be brought forth alwayes to the field, & as they are by name billed, they must be called to þ battayle: so that the battayle be longe right out at the first and single: that it be not hollowe, that it be not croked, þ the souldiours stand, of like and conuenient distance one from another: then they must be charged of a sodaine to double the fronte: so that though they go as faste as euen they are accustomed in the fildes, yet they maye keepe theyr arraye. Thirde com-maundement muste be geuen, that forthwith they bringe themselves into a quadzangle forme. That done, they must turne them into a triangle (wedgewyse as they terme it) þ is to saye, small before, thicke and broader afterwarde. This good orderinge of souldiours hath done verie much good, & beene profitable in warre. They must also be warned to conueye themselves into a rounde forme, whereby when as violently the enemye doth breake into the battell, the souldiours with this practise may be able to resist them, least all the whole multitude be compelled to runne awaye, and by that meanes greuous perill followe therevpon. If the yonger sorte can by daylye exercise ones perceyue these thinges, they

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they shall a greate deale more easelye saue themselves when they fight.

¶ How much space the souldiours must go and come when they be brought forth to marche: And how often they must be exercised in a moneth.

Chapiter. .xxvij.

Moreouer the custome hath bene and remaineth still, and also is in the decrees of worthy Augustus, and Adrianus Emperours, it is provided in the same, & this in the moneth, as well horsemen as footemen, should be brought forth to marche, (for so do they terme this kinde of exercise.) The footemen armed & furnished with all manner of weapons, were commaunded to go and come & space of .10 myles from & Campe a marching pace, so that some part of the way they might runne ouer merlye. The horsemen deuised by troupes in armour, likewise wente euen as longe a iourney, and as such on horsebacke are wonte to do for exercise: Sometimes they followed, sometimes gaue backe, and forcing the horses, ranne them out vpon the spurre, not onely in & plaine fieldes, but also in places steepe downe, and verie highe both horsemen and footemen were caused to go vp and downe, so that hap what hadde could to them in their fight, these practised souldiours had verie well forelearned.

¶ Of the perswasion to warrefare, and of the maner hoode of the Romaines. Chap. .xxviii.

In consideration of my faythfull promise and howe (most puiſant Emperour, I haue gathered together into this litle booke, these things which I haue chosen oute of all authours, which haue written the science and Arte of warrefare: that in mustering and exercising of yonge souldiours, if anye man would be dilligente, hee maye easelye make a stronge armie: but followinge the auncient maner hoode that hath

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hath bene in times past. For neyther is all martiall bloud and stomacke quite gone and decayed in men, nor yet lands which brought forth & Lacedemonians, & Athenians, Marsians, Samnites, Pelignes, yea & the very Romaines themselves, be barren and vnfruitful. Haue not the people of Epirus, sometime prauayled verie much in armes: Haue not the Macedonians and Thessalians by warre, conqueringe first & Persians, come as farre as Indie: And it is manifest that the Danes, the people of Media and Thracia, haue alwayes bene such stout warriours, & Mars himselfe is sayned to haue bene borne among them. It were to long to reckon vpon the strength of all countreyes, when as they all consist in the Emperre of the Romaines. But greate securitie and longe peace hath made men partlye delighte in idleness, and partlye in seruice at home in the common wealth. By such meanes therefore it is well known, that the care of warrelye exercise was at the first negligently handled, afterwarde dissembled, last of all broughte into obliuion & quite forgotten. Neyther let any man marueyle that this hath chaunced in the time late passed: when as after the first warre betwene the Romaines and the Carthagiens, when 24. yeares were come and gone, peace so weakened the Romaines through idleness and disuse of Armour, which before had bene euerye where conquerours, that in the seconde warre of Carthage, they were by no meanes comparable to Hanniball. After so manye Consulles losse: so manye Captaynes slaine: so manye armyes cast away: finding a meanes to learne the vse and exercise of warrefare, they came at & length to be conquerours agayne. At all times therfore should yonge men be chosen and exercised, for cheaper certayne it is to instruct a mans owne souldiours in armes, then to hyre straungers for moneye.

B. iii.

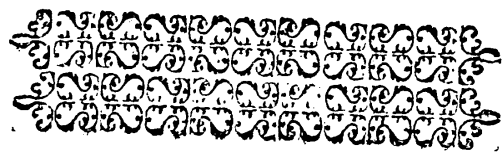
The seconde Booke of Flavius

Vegetius Renatus of the institutions
of vvarre.

The Prologue.



Continuall conquestes and triumphes, do declare that your Grace doth chiefeely and most skilfully keepe in remembraunce the auncient ordinaunces of the elders, as touchinge the knowledge and feates of armes: For the effect of thinges is alwayes the most certayne prooffe of any science. But your rest and quietnes (moste victorious Emperour) doth requyre the olde and auncient thinges oute of Bookes, with a deeper iudgement then any earthly minde is able to conceiue: when as with newe and freshe noble actes, it passeth antiquitye it selfe. Being therefore commaunded to comprehend brieflye in wytyng these thinges, not thereto to teache or instructe your maiestye, but onlye to put you in remembraunce thereof: my due obedience and solempne promise hath oftentimes striuen with shamefastnes. For what greater bouldnes can there be, then to the Lorde and Prince of the whole worlde, the vanquisher of all barbarous and foraine Nations, to write of the knowledge and vse of warre: excepte peraduenture you commaunded that to be done, which you your selfe had perfourmed. And againe, it seemed a verye hapnours and dangerous thinge not to obeye the commaundementes of so great and mightye an Emperour. Therefore in obeyinge I am become verie bould, whyles for feare that in denyng I shoulde appeare more bolde. To the which rashenes the longe continuance of your accustomed and exceedinge great clemencie hath encouraged mee. For of late I offered a little Booke of the chusinge and trayninge byppe of yonge souldiours, as one of your owne familie, yet therein sustayned no blame: and therefore feare I not at your commaundemente to aduenture on a worke, when as that which was vntutillie done, hath past vncorrupted.



Into howe manye kindes the

Arte of vvarre maye be
deuided.

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The first Chapter.



What soeuer belongeth to warre (as the singular and notable Authour amonge the Latynes doth testifie) consisteth of armour and men: What soeuer partayneth to warre, I saye is deuided into three partes, Horsemen, Footemen and Raupes. Of the horsemen one sort be called winges, because that like vnto winges they defende the battayle on both sydes, which now be called Vexillationes, that is to saye, companyes of men of warre all vnder one Standard, a Velo, because they vse banners or Veiles, termed glistering flagges or ensignes. There is another sort of horsemen which be named, Legionaries, because they be ioyned to the Legion: like to the which are deuised another kinde (& for their harness they weere of their legges) called Ocreati. There be likewise two maner of Raupes, one which may be called Foytes or Gallies, and the other of Hippes. The horsemen keepe the playnes, the Raupes the seas and waters, the footemen the hilles, Citties the champion groundes and also steepe places. Whereby we see that the footemen are most necessarye for the common wealthe, doinge good seruice euerye where. And whereof a greater number maye be maintayned with lesse cost and charge. An host of men is in latine Exercitus, of the verye thinge it selfe, and of the vse of exercise hath therefore so proper a name geuen vnto it, to the intente it should neuer forget what it was called. The footemen are deuided into two partes, the one sort Legionaries, the other Aides: the Aides were sente from their part takers and confederate Nations. The Romaine vertue doth farre exceede all other in the orderinge of their Legions.

The seconde booke of Vegetius.

Legions. A legion hath þ name Ab eligendo, which worde of it selfe requyeth theyr sayth and diligence by whom the souldiours are allowed: for reskewe & ayde the lesser number, for legionarye souldiours a much greater number hath euer customabyle bene appointed.

¶ How the legionarye souldiours and those that are sente for ayde do differ. Chap. iij.

The Macedonians, the Greekes, the Troyans, did vse those battayles which they called Phalanges, about þ number of .8000. men in a Phalange. The Frenchmen and Spaniardes, and many barbarous Nations, bled in battell such as they called Gaternas, wherein were 6000. harnessed menne: the Romaynes haue Legions, in the which are .6000 warriours or moe. But what difference maye seeme to be betweene the Legions and Aydes, I will plainly declare. Those which are sent for aydes come from sondrye places, for diuers and sondrye hye: neyther in trayning, in knowledge, nor in disposition one like another, farre vnlike be theyr fashions, their vse of their Armour cleane of another sort. And needes must they be longe of getting the victoie, which before they come to fighte differ thus after this sort. Finallye whereas expedition requyeth, it is verye expedient that all the souldiours at one onely warning, should straighthe way turne themselves: then howe can they do all a like that, which they are commaunded, when they neuer kept anye compaignie altogether before: and yet these thinges solemnlye vfed, often exercised, almoste dailye confirmed, profit not a little. The aydes went alwayes wyth þ legionarye souldiours, as lighte harnessed men in the foie battayle, rather for an helpe in fightinge then a principall succour. But a Legion where is but one peculiar kinde of souldiours, hauinge in it complete harnessed men (that is to saye) first and foremost Principes, then Hastati, the thirde Triarii or of the rerewarde, the Ensigne bearers: then lighte harnessed men, as casters of Dartes, Archers, men with

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with Slinges, Crossebowe men: hauinge also in it men at Armes, and such as be annered vnto the Legio called legio-narye horsemen, and all these in one register: when as with one minde and one consent they fortifye þ campe, order their armye, and ioyne battayle together, beinge safe and sure on euerye syde, needing no maner of outward helpe or ayde. What multitude is so manye, that suche an armye shall not conquere: As we are plainly taught by the great prowesse of the Romaynes, which vsinge Legions alwayes in suche sort asforesayd, ouercame so manye ennemyes as eyther willingly they would, or all thinges considered, they possible coulde.

¶ The cause why Legions haue bene wasted and diminished. Chap. iij.

The vaine of Legions remayneth yet till this day, but through negligence of former times, þ strength thereof is abated: for þ ambitio preuenting manhoode, hath got awaye his due rewarde: & souldiours nowe a dayes are promoted by fauour, which neuer were promoted but onely by labour. And againe for this cause, þ whē we haue payed a certen their wages, & with a passport (as þ custome is) dismiss thē, we neuer substitute other in their rounes. Besides it cā not be chosen, but some must fall sicke, become weake & so be discharged: some geue ouer warfare, or dye by one chaunce or other: þ except euery yeare, (yea almost euery moneth) as many againe succede them, & come in theyr place: an armye be it neuer so greate, must needes consume & wast. Another cause there is why legions may be lessened: A souldiour takes muche paine in a Legion, armoure is heauye and burdenous, rewarde cometh slowlye, punishmentes ryfe & sharpe, which thinges the most part to auoyde, if it mighte be, seeke to be sworne and serue for ayde, where bothe they take lesse paynes, & are moze sone preferred. Noble Cato þ Elder, both valiant in armes, & who that being Consul had oftentimes himselfe conducted an army, he thought yet, he might profit þ comon wealth a great deale moze if he put in wytyng

The seconde booke of Vegetius.

Wrytinge what belonged to warre: for valiant and noble actes continue but one age, but what things are wrytten for the profite of the common wealth, are remembred throughout all ages. The like haue manye other done before, but especially Frontinus, wrytinge to his gracious Prince Traianus, for this endeour and trauaile was very much commended. These mens ordinaunces, these mens instructions, as much as in me lyeth, bryefely and saythfullye I intende to put in wrytinge. For seinge that whether an armye be well ordered or euill, the expenses are as greate of the one as the other: it shalbe profitable not onely for the time present, but also for ever hereafter, if by your maiestyes good prouision, (moste noble Emperour) stronge and pollicicke vse of Armour maye be renued and established, and whatsoeuer dissimulation for fauour hath tofore beene practised, the same maye by your meanes be redressed and amended.

¶ What number of Legions the aunient Romanes ledde wryth them to the warres.

Chapter. .iiij.

Ve finde in al Authoꝝ that euerye Consul, against the greatest number of ennemyes, leade neuer mo the two Legions, reckening therewith the aydes he came from theyr frendes & confederates. So well exercised were they, so stout and valiant, that they thought two Legions sufficient for any warre whatsoeuer. Wherefore according to the rule of the lawe of Armes, and trade of warres, I wil declare the olde maner of ordering of a Legion: which description if it shall seeme somewhat diffuse or homely, impute not the same to mee, but to the hardnes and difficultye of the matter it selfe. With a diligent and attentue minde, they must therefore be reade ouer and ouer, that they maye be throughe vnderstode and perfectly remembred. For needes must that common wealthe be vnuincible, that hath a gouernour so skilfull in chualre, as when hee will, can make both stronge and valiaunt Armys.

Howe

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¶ Howe a Legion shoulde be ordered.

Chapter. v.

After much diligence hath bene vsed in choosinge such of the yonger sorte as shalbe of good stomacke & courage, and also practised before for the space of foure monethes or more: then at the commaundement and by the authoritie of the mightye soueraine Prince, a legion is framed & made. For souldiours beinge once bilde, picked and registred they vse to be sworne. And hereof therefore comes that Ceremonious taking of an othe in warre, of the which this is the forme. They sweare by God his father, by Christ the sonne, and by the holye Ghoste, and by the Maiestye of his Emperour or Prince, which after God, oughte to be beloued and worshipped of all men lyuing. For when as the Emperour or Prince hath receyued the title of royall maiestye, vnto him (as if God were presently and corporally with vs) our saythfull obedience must be performed, and moste vigilant and diligent seruice declared and shewed. For whosoener lyueth eyther out of the warres or in the warres, doth then serue God, when as hee saythfullye loueth him, whom God hath appointed to rule and raigne ouer him. But to this, do the souldiours sweare, that they wil do all thinges valiantly, which the Emperour or Prince doth commaunde: that they will neuer forsake his warres, neyther refuse death for the Romayne common wealth.

¶ Howe manye cohorts or bandes shoulde be in one Legion, and howe manye souldiours should be in one bande. Cap. vj.

Ve must know that in a Legion there ought to be 10. bandes. But the first bande passeth al the rest, both in number of souldiours, and also in estimation, and commonly they be (as it is requisite) of very good callinge and wel brought vp in learninge: for this bande beares the Eagle, which alwayes is the chiefe standard in the Romaine army,

armye, & the ensigne of al the whole Legion. These haue in reuerence and worship theyr Emperours pictures as present tokens from God. This first bande contayneth .1105. footemen: heauye armed hoysmen 132. And it is named Cohors miliaria, that is to saye, a compaigne of a thousande and mo souldiours. This bande is the head of all the Legion: when soeuer they must fight, this band beginnes the battell, and are first set in order in the fronte of the battell. The seconde bande contayneth .555. footemen, & 66. hoysmen of heauye armour. And this band is called Cohors quigentaria, that is to say, a compaigne of .5. hundred & mo souldiours. The third bande likewise hath .555. footemen, and .66. hoysmen. But here they vse to place their strong & moze expert mē, because this third bande is in the middes & strengthe of the battell. The fourth bande hath .555. footemen, & 66 hoysmen. The fift bande hath as manye, but it is requysite they be valiant and couragious souldiours: because as the first Cohorte is set in the righte wyng, so the fift is set in the lefte wyng. These fise bandes are set in a raye in the first battayle. The sixte bande hath .555. footemen .66. hoysmen, and the same must be chosen and picked mē: for why, the sixt band is placed next behinde the standarde, and next the Emperours armes in the seconde front or battell. The seuenth bande hath .555. footemen .66. hoysmen. The eighth bande hath .555. footemen .66. hoysmen: but couragious men, as it is expedient, because it is the middlemost bande in the seconde battayle. The nynte hath 555. footemen .66. hoysmen. The tenth doth containe also .555. footemen 66 hoysmen: valiant and expert warriours, because in the seconde battayle it defendeth the lefte wyng. These tenne bandes make a full and perfecte Legion, contayninge 6100. footemen, and 726. hoysmen. There maye not be in a Legion anye fewer of harness men: mo there hath beene oftentimes. For when one bande would not serue, by commaundement haue bene taken mo other bandes, of a Thousand souldiours in a bande.

¶ Names and degrees, of the chiefe and principall men of the Legion. Chap. viij.

Nowe

Nowe that I haue set forth the auncient orderinge of a Legion, I will declare the names and offices of the principall souldiours: to speake plainlye and properlye, shew by what name euery souldiour was first registred and billed. The chiefe Tribune was appointed by the discretion and iudgement of the Emperour, by his solemne Epistle or letter wyitten to that effecte. The vnder Tribune came by by his seruice. And he is called Tribunus a tribu: of geuing euery one his right: because he hath authoritey ouer the souldiours, which Romulus first chose out of 3 Tribes (that is to saye) out of 3 wardes, hundreds, or other such like compaignes of the peoples of Rome. Those souldiours Ordinarij, are called such as haue charge in the battaile, & leade the first rankes or rayes. They were called Augustales, which were ioyned to those ordinarie souldiours by the Emperour Augustus. Flauiales in like sort, as it were Secundi Augustales, noble Vespasian added to the Legions. Aquiliferi, are they which carrie the Eagle. Imaginarij or Imaginiferi, whiche carrie the Images or pictures of the Emperours. Optiones ab optando, whē those next going befoze them were sicke or greued, these as it were their successours & supplying their places, were wont to take vppon them all their whole charge. Signiferi, are the Standarde bearers now called Draconarii. Tesserarij be they, whiche gaue the watche worde to the souldiours of all the Legion. And this worde Tessera, is the commaundement of 3 chiefe Captayne, to call the armye eyther to any worke or battell. Campigeni, that is to saye, Antesignani, are therefore so named, because by their endeouour and manhoode, 3 maner of exercise doth encrease in the fieelde. Metatores, are those which go befoze 3 armye, to chose them a place to encampe in. Beneficiarij, so called whē the Tribune to benefite preferreth and promoteth. Librarij, that kepe a booke of 3 souldiours accompts. Tubicines, Cornicines, and Buccinatores, which by blowing a trumpet, brasen hoysne or Sagbut, cause the souldiours to ioyne battaile. Armaturæ duplares, were souldiours, which had double allowance of victuals. Simplares, which had ordinarie allowance. Men

The seconde booke of Vegetius.

Menfores, which in the campe measured out by f foote to f souldiours, places to pitch their tentes in, or appointed euery souldiour his lodginge in the Cittyes. Torquati duplares, souldiours with double chaynes: & Torquati simplares, souldiours such as wore a single chayne al of golde, had it, for some reward of manhoode and vertue. Which who so deserued, besides the prayse and commendation sometimes had double allowance of victuals. There were also Candidi duplares, suche as laboured or stoode for double allowance of victuals: and Candidi simplares, suche as laboured for single allowance. These be the principall souldiours which haue any prerogative or priuiledge aboue the other. The rest are named Munifices, because they are constrained to loke to their charge and office.

¶ The names of them which ledde the auncient orders of souldiours. Chap. viij.

The olde custome hath beene, that the chiefe leader of the Legion, shoulde promote the Centurion or Captayne of the haunte garde called Primipilus, whose office was not onely to take charge of the Eagle or chiefe standard, but also to haue vnder his leading in f first battell foure Centuries, that is to saye. 400. souldiours. This captayne as the chiefe of al the Legion, did obtayne manye profits and commodities. Also the chiefe of them which be called Hastati did leade in the second fronte, two Centuries, f is to saye, 200. men, whom we do nowe call Ducenarium, that is a Captayne of two hundred. But the principall of the first band, had vnder his gouernment one Centurie, and an halfe, that is to saye. 150. men, and the orderinge of all thinges in the Legion whatsoeuer. Likewise the second called Hastatus, did leade as manye as did the firste, that is to saye, 150. men. The first or chiefe Triarian, did leade an hundred men: so that these five ordinarie souldiours, gouerned tenne Centuries of the first cohorte bande, and vnto whom the auncient fathers did great honoz, and also appointed to them

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their commoditie: for this ende chiefly, that the other souldiours of all the legion with all kinde of labour and humble seruice shoulde endeuour the selues to attain such rewardes. There were also centurions or vnder captaines, which had the charge of a single centurie or iuste hundred, whiche bee named Centenarii, there were Decanii. That conducted ten souldiours, whiche are nowe called the chiefe of one company in one pavilion or tent. The seconde cohorte hath five centurions, likewise the thirde, the fourth, the fiftie, and so to the tenth cohorte. And so in al the legion were. 155. centurions.

¶ Of the office of him that is called Praefectus legionis, the lieutenautes deputie. Chapter. ix.

Suche as sometime had beene Consuls, sent the Emperours lieutenantes to warre, vnto whome al the whole armies and those whiche were sent for ayde, as well in peace as in necessarie time of warres were alwaies obediēt: whose rounne it is certaine that right excellent famous men, as maisters of the souldiours doe nowe supplie, which were wonte to haue the gouernement, not onely of twoo legions, but also of a greater nūbre. But the very chiefe and peculiar iudge of the legion was Praefectus, hauing common authoritie of the beste estate or order, & in the absence of the lieutenaunt, as it were his deputie or vicegerent, had the greatest power of all. The tribunes or centurions, and all the other souldiours, were all at his commaundement. This same gaue the watche their charge, and when any voiage was to be made gaue onely commaundement. If a souldiour had committed any faulte, this deputie forthwith by his authoritie, commaunded the marshall to take punishment of him. Hee tooke charge of all the souldiours armoure, also of the horses, apparell and vitaille. Hee might commaunde seuerer punishment to be executed, and exercises, not onely of the footemen, but also of the horsmen daily to be practised. Him self as a diligent and sober overseer, trayned by the legion committed to his charge, alwayes honestly and diligently in all

¶

good

The second booke of Vegetius

good seruice & industrie, as one not ignorant that the valiantnes of the souldiours redounded chiefly to the commendation of the capitaine.

¶ Of the office of the chiefe ouerseer of the campe.

Chapiter.x.

There was also an ouerseer of the campe, though not of great authoritie, yet occupied in no meane or small affaires: whose office was to see to the encamping of his armie, to all fortification, to ditching and entrenching. The tentes or haies of the souldiours, withal the bagge and baggage were ordered euer as it seemed good to him. The sicke souldiours besides of euery tente, with those that had theim in cure, all expences belonging to the same, concerne his onely trauell and diligence. Cartes or wagons, shotte or artillery, timber, edge tooles, wherewith to beue and sawe the same, for opening of ditches, when a bulwarke should be purposed, and for more commodious conueyinge of water, this matter pertayneth properly to him. Hee did moreover forsee that there wanted not at anye tyme either strawe, or woode, battring rammes, crosse bowes, field pieces, & other kinde of ordinaunce. This officer, after long and great experience of warrefare, was chosen as one moste experte, and cunningest wel to teache and instructe others in that, which hee him selfe had done with commendation.

¶ Of the office of the maister of the artificers.

Chapiter.xj.

Moreouer, there are in a legion Carpenters, and such as make preparation, as Cartwrightes, Smithes, Painters, and other artificers, for building places to winter in. For his speedy making of engines, wooden towers, and other thinges wherewith his enemies cities are annoied, and their owne better defended. And either to make newe, or to repaire the olde shaken armoure, weapons, wagons & other kinden of ordinaunce. They had also forges or shoppes for tergets, or buclers, for coates of sence, for bowes, in which arrowes, dartes, helmets, & al kinde of weapōs were made.

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For this was his speciall charge, that no necessarye thinge should at any time be missing in the campe: in so muche that they had also pioners, which after the maner of the Belsians, working vnder the ground, & undermining the foundation of the walles, would sodainly issue out & take their enemies cities. Of all these, the maister of his artificers had the charge, and was the onely ouerseer.

¶ Of the office of the chiefe tribune or Colonel. Chapiter.xij.

A Legion, as it is before said, hath .x. cohortes, but the first cōteined a. 1000. or more souldiours, in which were such placed as were sent, for their great wealth for birth, for their learning, for comelines, for vertue, & manhode.ouer this cohort the tribune had the gouernemēt, passing all other in knowledge of armes, in goodly personage, in honest manners and condicions. The other cohortes as it seemed good to the prince, were ruled by other tribunes or gouernours. But so great regarde was there had for the exercising of the souldiours, that not onely the said tribunes or gouernours did commaunde their owne souldiours committed to their charge to exercise them selues, euery daye in their owne presence: but also they the selues being perfecte in the knowledge of armes, did exhort and encourage other the rather by their example, often to doe the lyke. The tribunes carefulnes by this industrious traueile was verymuche commended, when as his souldiours went cleane in apparell, when their armoure was sure and brighte, when they often exercised them selues by vse to become skilfull.

¶ Of the centuries, or hundredes of the footemen, and of their ensignes, or penoncles or banners.

Chapiter.xij.

The firste and chiefe standerd of all the legion is the eagle which he that carieth is called Aquilifer. Also there be caried in euery cohort dragōs, and those that carie them, are called Draconarii. But the auncient men of warre, because they knewe that in the fightinge of the bat-

¶ II.

taile it might so fall out that array in the armie might verie soone be broken: for remedie thereof, they deuised the cohorts into centuries, or hundredes, & to euery hundred they appointed a peculiar ensigne, so that it was written with letters in that ensigne or flagge, of whiche cohort or bande, & of whiche centurie in order of the same cohorte, euery one was. The whiche the souldiours beholdinge and readinge, in neuer so great hurly burly, could not farre wander from their companies of their own tent. Moreover, they commaunded the centurions, which now are called Centenarii, beinge valiaunt warriours in complet harnis, to gouerne euery centurie or hundred, the cresses of their helmets being set ouerthwart, to the intent they might be more easely knowen, and to the end there might be no great disorder, when as an hundred souldiours might followe, not onely their ensigne, but also their centurion or capitaine by the marke or ensigne in his helmet. Againe the centuries or hundredes were deuised into companies of ten souldiours, so that ouer ten souldiours abiding vnder one pavilion, one was chiefe ruler called Decanus (as who say he chief of ten) which is named he head of he company. And he company oftē was called Manipulus, for that, he had in hand as it were, they fought alwayes iust & iointly together.

¶ Of the trompes of the legionary horsemen, called Turma. Chapter. xiiij.

LIke as among the footemen, there was century (that is to say, the number of a hundred men) or Manipulus, which is lesse. he is he number of x. euē so is turma called amongst he horsemen. One troupe doth containe. 32. horsemen. The capitaine ouer these is called Decurio, the leadeare of. 30. or more of horsemen. For an. 100. footemen go vnder one centurio, & vnder one ensigne: likewise vnder one Decurio. 32. horsemen, vnder one ensigne. Moreover, like as he centurio to be choise, should be a man of great strength, of tall stature, cunningly and strongly to tolle his pike, throw his darte, knowing very skillfully how to fight with his sword, & how to turne & welde his target, hauing very good knowledge in handling his weapon, vigilant,

vigilant, sober, nimble, and actiue, a doer rather then a talker, whiche can holde in his owne souldiours, learne them feates of warre, make them exercise their weapons, see they bee well apparailled, & cleane shooed, that euery souldiours harnisse be without ruste, well skoured and bright: So the Decurion to bee chosen Capitaine of a troupe of horsemen, muste firste of all bee a handsome man, a comely and tall man, able with prayse and admiration of all men to mounte on his horse, though he be harnished & armed at all pointes, whiche can cunningly handle the staffe, & aduisedly bestowe his arrowes, which can instructe he souldiours of his troupe (that is to say) the horsemen committed to his charge, in all maner of thinges whiche appertaine to a horseman: whiche will see that they often make cleane their mayle, furbushe their harnisse, their speares and helmettes. For the glistering of armour breedeth and striketh, a great feare to the enemy. Who wil take him to be a valiaunt souldiour, which lettes his armour ruste and be euil sauoured by negligēce. And it is conuenient that not onely the horsemen, but the very horses also them selues be at commaundement, and wel broken. The charge therfore as well of the men, as of the horses, of health no lesse then exercise, concerneth the Decurion or capitaine of the horsemen.

¶ After what sorte the legions should be set in order. Chapter. xv.

NOwe by the example of one legion, wee will declare after what manner a whole armie should be set in array, if necessarily they must ioyne battayle speedely. This thing if neede shall require, may bee applied to more legions. The horsemen must bee placed in the wynges. The fore fronte of the footemen in the first cohorte or bande, must beginne the arraye in the right wyng. Hereunto must bee ioyned the seconde cohorte. Then the thirde cohorte in the midst, and therewithall the fourth. The fifth cohorte must stande for the leste wyng, but before and behynde the flanks.

verdes. Those whiche fought in the fore fronte of firste battayle, were called Principes: that is to saye, chiefe and principall souldiours, as those in complete harnisse whiche had helmettes, coarsetettes, legge harnisse, shieldes, swordes & great daggers, and five leade plummets in their shieldes, whiche they doe caste at their firste ioyning. Also two kindes of dartes: the one greater, with an yron heade thre square, of nyne inches longe, the staffe five foote longe and a halfe, whiche they named Pilum, at this tyme called Spiculum. This vled the souldiours oftentimes to caste, for that the same directed with cūning, and throwe with good courage, striketh through both footemen with shieldes, and horsemen with their complete harnis: the other lesse, and was a kinde of darte with an yron head, thre cornered of five inches lōg, the staffe of thre foote and a halfe: whiche they were wonte to call Verriculum, but nowe Verutum. The firste and chiefest souldiours in the firste aray, called Principes, and the seconde called Hastati, were wonte to be furnished with this kynde of weapons. Behinde these were suche as were called Pherentarii, and light armed men, which nowe with harnisse and armour wee place for ayde. Next were suche as bore shieldes, with leade plummets, swordes & dartes, as now a dayes almost all our souldiours vse. Then archers with helmettes, brestplates, & swordes, arrowes & bowes. Likewise slingers whiche with slinges, or staffeslinges, did caste stones. There were also that were called Tragularii, whiche did shoote arrowes with hande bowes, and crosse bowes. The seconde battell was likewise armed, and those whiche were placed in that bande were called Hastati, that is to saye, pikemen or spearmen. But in the seconde battayle the first bande was set in the right wyng: to the which the seuenth bande was ioyned, The eighte bande kept the middle fronte of the battayle, hauinge the nynthe ioyned to it. The tenth cohorte in the seconde battayle, did alwayes kepe the lefte wyng.

¶ After

¶ After what maner the Triarians, and also the Centuriens should be armed. Chapter. xvi.

After all these battels, the Triarians, or souldiours of the rerewarde were placed with shieldes, coarsetets, helmettes, beinge harnissed on the legges, hauinge swordes, great daggers, leaden plummets, and two dartes, the whiche did rest kneelinge vpon one knee: that if the firste battaile were overcome, these might repayre and make vp the battayle againe, and set on the enemies a freshe and recouer the victorie. But all the standerd or banner bearers although they were footement, had on coates of mayle or plate, of the lighter sorte, and helmettes couered with beare skinnes, to terrifie and make aserde the enemies. The Centuriens also had coarsetettes, brigantines, shieldes and helmettes of Steele, but with cresses ouerthwart, and couered with siluer, that they might bee the better knowne of their souldiours.

¶ Howe that the battayle beinge ioyned, the complet harnissed men stode as a wall.
Chapter. xvij.

This thing also must bee knowne and diligently obserued, that in open warre the firste and seconde battaile should stande sure and immouable. The souldiours also of the rerewarde, should abyde and reste. The light armed souldiours, and terget men, archers, slingers, that is to saye, suche as were armed with light harnisse should goe before the armie, and prouoke the enemies. And if they could put the enemies to flighte, they shoulde pursue them, but if they were overmatched and overlaped with the power and multitude of their enemies, they muste retire to their owne companie, and stande behinde them. But the complet armed men muste receiue the brunte of the battayle, and stande as wee saye, lyke a brassen wall, and they must not onely caste dartes, but also with swordes fighte neerer hande.

¶ liii.

And

And if they put the enemies to flight, these complete harnished men must not pursue them, least they should disorder the bande, and breake the battelraxe, and so the enemies returning and sodainly comming vpon them, so disordered & scattered abroade, might easely overcome them. But the lyght armed men, with the slingars, archers and horsemen, must pursue the enemies in the chase. By this good order and diligent prouision, and circumspection, this legion shall either easely banquish their enemies, or els shalbe out of daunger if they chaunce to be overcome: because it is necessarily required in this companie, not, without great cause, either to geue backe or flie themselves, or pursue their enemies reculping.

¶ The names of souldiours, and the orders and degrees should be wyrtten in the shieldes.
Chapiter. xviij.

BUt, least souldiours sometimes in the hurly burly of a battayle, should departe from their owne companie: they did painte in diuers bandes, diuers signes or markes in the shieldes, whiche they called Digmata, that is to saye, signes, markes, or tokens: lyke as they vse to doe now a dayes. Moreover, in the shieldes, the name of euery souldiour was wyrtten with letters, and also of what bande euery one was, or of what hundred. Thereby by these it is manifest that a legion well furnished and ordered is, as it were, a moste sure defenced citie, which caried with it euery where all thinges necessarie vnto battayle: neither feared the sodaine comminge of the enemies, whiche also in the middle of the playne fieldes coulde fortifie it selfe quickly with trence and bulwarke. Whiche also had within it selfe all manner of warriours, and furniture fitte for the warre. Therefore if any do couet in open battayle to overcome the rude and barbarous people, let hym earnestly desire & praye that according to the wyll and pleasure of God, and the appointment of the victorions prince, and the good guiding & ordering

ordering of a valiaunt captaine, the armies maye bee repaired and made by againe with younge and freshe souldiours. And within shORTE space younger men being skilfully picked out and exercised diligently euery daye, both in the morning and after noone, with all manner of martiall assayes and feates of warre, shall sone be equal to those olde souldiours whiche haue subdued the whole worlde. Neither let your maiestie be moued wth Caesar, that the olde custome which in tymes past did flourish and was best liked, is nowe altered and chaunged. But the cōtinuance of this good prouision & happie successe consisteth in you, that is for the safetie of the common wealth, bothe to inuente newe thinges, and to restore the olde. Euery woork seemeth harde before a man as saye: but if experte and politike men bee appointed to picke out and choose souldiours, an armie meete for the warres, shal quickly be gathered, and diligently instructed: for any thing may be brought to passe by diligence and pollicie, if sufficient and competent expenses be allowed.

¶ Besides the strengthe of the body, the cunning or knowledge of ciphers and countynge, must be regarded in younge souldiours.
Chapiter. xix.

BUt for as muche, as in armies there bee many scholes and exercises of chenalrie, whiche doe require cunning and expert souldiours, it is verie expedient that they which doe admitte and allowe the young souldiours, should searche out diligently, and knowe in euery one the bignes of the stature, the strengthe of the body, and the promptnes of his mynde. But in certaine the cunning of ciphers and augurim, and exercise of reckening and casting accompte is required. For the accompte of all the whole legion, whether it bee of the diligent seruice, or of the numbers of souldiours, or els of money, is daily registred in the actes or chronicles, with greater diligēce almost then the trade of victualling, or ciuile gouernement, is noted in the register bookes of the citie,

citie. They note also the continual watches in time of peace. Also the warding on the daye tyme, and the charges of officers in carying from place to place: amongst all the centuries and companies, what the souldiours doe by course: that none be charged or burdened more then is due and right, or if any haue libertie graunted and are exempted. The names of the whiche ordered their courses, are noted in the bookes. When any man hath receiued a pasporte, and for how many dayes it is noted in the abbridgements. For at that tyme a pasporte was graunted very hardely, except it were for most iuste and probable causes. Neither the souldiours whiche were lately begonne and entered, were assigned to any certayne seruice, nor any priuate charge committed vnto them. For why, it was not thought meete and conuenient that any souldiour of the prince or chiefe captaine, whiche is founde meate, drinke and clothing, of the common prouision, should attende vpon priuate commodities. Notwithstanding, there were souldiours appointed to wayte on the chiefe Iudges & tribune, and other that were in authoritie, whiche were called Accensi, that is to saye, souldiours appointed to bee about great officers. For when the legion was fully made by perfectte, these were added whiche nowe wee doe call Supernumerarios, aboue the iust number. And yet the very ordinarie souldiours, did carie feruels or bündels into the campe, that is to saye, woode, haye, water, and strawe. For of this they were called Munifices, because they did those commendable thinges whiche they were charged withall.

¶ How the souldiours ought to put aside the halfe part of any gift in money, or other thinges geuen them, in the keeping of suche as are standerd bearers.

Chapter. xx.

This thing in times passe was excellently well ordeined and appointed of the auncient men, that the one halfe of suche thinges as were geuen the souldiours, should be set aparte with the standerdes, and there should be kepte for the

for the vse of these souldiours, least through excelsse and riot, or the getting of bayne thinges, it might be wasted of their owne companions. For the moste parte of men, and namely the poozer sorte, doe spende and laye forth willingly so much as they haue, or can come by. But this sequestration or putting aside of the money, firste of all is proued profitable and commodious, euen for their fellowe souldiours. For seeing that they are sustined and foude meate, drinke, and clothing of the common expences, their goodes whiche they haue gotten in warre are encreased, according to the equall parte of one halfe of those thinges whiche were giuen them. Furthermore, the souldiour whiche knoweth his money to be kepte with the standerdes, dothe neuer minde to forsake the standerdes, but rather to sticke to them. He fighteth more stoutly and ballauntly for them in the battaille, as all men are commonly wont to doe. That is to take care for those thinges wherein he knowes their whole wealth and substance doth consist. Finally, there were set abroade tene bagges in euery bande, in the whiche these thinges were put. There was also ioyned the xi. bagge, into the whiche the whole legion did put a certayne portion to be bestowed on the burials: that if any of the companies died, funerall charges should be taken out of that eleuenth bagge. This accompt was kept in a basket or cophin by standerd bearers (as the report is nowe) And therfore, suche were standerd bearers, as were not only faithfull, but also learned and skilfull, whiche could both safely kepe thinges whiche were committed to their custodie, and also geue iuste accompte of that, which they had in keeping, to euery man.

¶ Promotions and dignities in the legion, are so disposed and ordered, that none is aduanced thereto before he haue passed through the x. bandes or companies of the legion. Chapter. xxj.

I thinke herebye that among the Romaynes, the legions were appointed and ordered, not onely by the pollicie of man, but also by the inspiration of God.

In the

In the whiche, tenne bandes are so sette in order and ioyned together, that of all those is made as it were one bodye and one societie. For the souldiours are aduanced, and proceade through diuers bandes, and diuers companies as it were rounde about, one after an other, so that from the first bande going forwarde in order by little and little hee came to the tenth bande, and againe from thence he came backe agayne through the reste to the firste bande: hauing better preferment, and his wages stil augmented. Therefore the Centurion or chief captaine of the forewarde, after that he ruled and gouerned all the bandes rounde about in course, by sundrie exercises and feates of armes: in the first bande he obtained that rewarde, whereof redounded innumerable commodities to him out of y whole armie. Like as Primicerius, or he that hath the chiefe authoritie in the principall office of the ouerseers or other rulers, doth come to some honest and gainefull preferment in warfare: euen so the horsemen of euery bande, doe courteously vse their owne companie with good felloweshippe: because the horsemen and footemen do naturally vary & disagree one with an other. Therefore by this ioyning, and as it were linking together of the armie, good agreement was kept and continued throughout al the bandes, both of horsemen and footemen.

¶ What difference is betwene trumpetters, blowers of hoines, or shawmes and suche like.

Chapiter, xxij,

Moreouer, an armie hath trumpetters, cornettes, and shawmes. The trumpetters doe call the souldiours to battayle: and againe doe call them backe blowing the retraite. The cornettes were an ornament to set forth the whole armie, bothe in the marching forwarde toward to the battaile, and also in the retiring from the fighte. As often as these do blowe, not onely souldiours, but also standerdes, are ready at the sounding of them to remoue. Therefore, as oft as the souldiours marche toward alone to any

business

business or skirmishes, the trumpetters doe blowe, and the souldiours only do come together at y sound of the trūpets. As often as the standerdes must be remoued, the blowers of cornettes do sounde. But when they do fighte, both y trumpetters and the cornettes doe sounde together. Also Classicū, is called that noyce whiche the trumpetters doe make with the soude of a cornet. This is a notable signe of great power and authoritie royal, because this is sounded when the prince, chieftayne, or generall captaine is present, or els when a souldiour for some hainous offence is put to death. For this must nedes bee done by the statutes and lawes of the generall: but if the souldiours goe forth to kepe the watches, to carie thinges from place to place, or to doe any woork, or to make a rode, at the sounde of the trumpetters they doe it, and by the sounde of the same doe retire to the rāpe agayne. But when the standerdes doe marche, or in marching when they should stape, the blowers of the cornettes sounde to bothe these. The whiche thing in dede for this cause is obserued & kept in all maner of exercises, skirmishes, rodes, and marching forwarde of the armie, that in the fighte the souldiours might more easely obeie: if the captaines should commaunde them, either to fight or to stape, to pursue, or to retire. For this prooffe is plaine that such things must be practised at vacant time and leasure, whiche of necessity must bee atchiued and done in the battell.

¶ Of the exercise of souldiours. Chapiter, xxij.

The appointing and administration of an armie, being orderlye described, let vs retorne to exercise againe: whereof (as it is sayde already) Exercitus, that is an hoste hath deriued the name. The younge and newe souldiours were exercised with al kinde of weapons & feates of chualtry, both in the morning and after noone. But the olde beaten and expert souldiours, once a daye were exercised in armes. For neither longe age, nor number of yeares, doth teache the feates of armes, but the continuall vse & studie of

die of exercise: and a souldiour not exercised and trainde by in feates of warre, although hee hath bene neuer so longe in wages, yet hee is alwayes but a younge begynner, and altogether ignoraunt in handling his weapon, whiche on the holie dayes is set abroade for to behoulde in the exercise. Therefore not onely they, which were under the chiefe masters, did learne by dayly exercise the handling of armour and weapons, and the swiftenes and nimblenes of the body, but also all the souldiours a lyke did exercise the same. For swiftenes and agilitie of the body, and also the cunning bothe to stryke the enemye and defende hym selfe, is chieflie gotten by exercise and practyse, especially if they fight neere at hande with swordes. But this is more weightie and needfull that they learne in their playing exercise to keape theyr orders, and that in so great sturres and thronges, beinge bled to the lyke in these exercises, wherein they are firste trained and entered, they doe wayte vppon their owne banners and ensignes, and that among the well trayned and experte souldiours, there bee no erreure or disorde committed, although in the common sorte there may bee very great confusion. It is also very good that the younge souldiours bee exercised with some poste or stake, where they maye learne to stryke at the sydes, the legges, and heades, eyther with the thrust, or with ryght downe strokes. Let them also accustome to leape and strike together: to batte against their shielde, as if they were dauncynge, and skyppe downe againe: sometyne to runne forwarde skipping and leaping, and fetchynge of gamboldes, sometyne to steppe awaye quickely, and leape backe agayne. Let them exercise also to throwe dartes a farre of at the postes or stakes, that they bothe maye bee more cunnynge in casting straighte, and more nimble and quicke with the right hande. But the archers and slyngers, byd set by some broume for a marke, or bundels of shrubbes, or strawe, that standing sixe hundred foote from the marke, oftentimes they might hitte it with their arrowes, or with their stoones leuelled out of a slynge staffe. Therefore, more boldely they did that in the battell.

whiche

whiche befoze they had exercised in spozte in the fielde. They muste also at all tymes accustome them selues, that they swynge the slynge, but once about the head onely, when a stone is caste out of it. And all the souldiours did vse with one hande to caste stonnes of a pounce weighte, whiche exercise is thought more readie, because it needeth not a slynge. They were also compelled alwaye and with continuall exercise, to caste dartes or leaden plummettes: in so muche that for the horsemen in wynter season, large galleries were couered with tyles or shingles, whiche are cliftes of woode: or if they did fayle, with readde, flagges or stubble, or els strawe: and also certayne large places made for the foote men, and couered in lyke maner: in the whiche in the tyme of stormes, wyndes, or foule weather, the armie was instructed and exercised with armour and weapons vnder couert. But the other dayes in wynter, if snowe and rayne byd cease, they were compelled to exercise them abroade in the fielde: leaste if this custome should be lefte of, the mindes and also the bodies of the souldiours myght bee weakened. It is good also that they vse often to cutte downe woode, to carpe bardens, to leape ouer ditches, to swimme in the Sea, or Ryuers, to walke a good rounde pace, or to runne yea, although they bee loden with the weyght of their armour & other burthens: that daily labour in tyme of peace, mighte not seeme harde, or paynefull in tyme of warre. Therefore, lyke as the whole legion is exercised, euen so the aydes oughte to bee exercised dayly. For lyke as a well trayned and exercised souldiour desires the battayle, euen so the vnerpente and ignoraunt, dothe feare the same. Laste of all wee muste knowe that in fyghte, vse and experience, dothe auayle more then force. For if the teachynge to handle weapons doe cease, and cunnynge in feates of armes be not regarded, then a countrey clowne is as good as the best souldiour.

¶ Examples

The second booke of Vegetius

¶ Examples of exhortations, and the exercise in warlike
affaires, taken of other artes and sciences.
Chapiter. xxiiiij.

The wraſtler, the hunter, the carter, commonly for a
ſmall rewarde, yea, for ſauour of the common people,
uſe to kepe and encrease their cunning and knowledge
with daily exerciſe. Muche more it behoueth a ſouldiour, by
whoſe manhode and valiauntneſſe, the common wealth is de-
fended and preſerued, perfectly to knowe, and by continuall
exerciſes to retaine and kepe the cunning in martiall affaires
and feates of warre: to whome often chaunceth not onely a
gloziouſ victorie, but alſo prizes of great price: and whome,
alſo both the lawe of armes and the good iudgement of the
general, will aduance to wealth and honour. The cun-
ning ſtage plaiers do not leaue of their exerciſes, loking on-
ly for prayſe and commendation of the common people: a
ſouldiour then choſen and admitted by a ſolemne othe, whe-
ther he be a young ſouldiour or an olde, ought not to ceaſe,
diſcontinue or bee ſlacke in the exerciſe of chivalrie, who
muſt fight both for his owne ſaſſetie, and alſo for the liber-
tie and ſafegarde of his countrey: eſpecially ſeing there is
an olde and wiſe ſaying, that all maner of ſciences doe con-
ſiſte in continuall ſtudie and exerciſe.

¶ Reherſall of Iron tooles and other engines of
the legion. Chapiter. xxv.

An army alſo commonly vanquiſheth and conquereth
the enemies not onely through the multitude of ſoul-
diours, but alſo through diuers kindes of Iron too-
les, and other engines. Firſt of all, it is furniſhed with ſhot,
whiche no coate armoure nor cergettes are able to abide.
For in euery century or hundred, they be to haue a ſielde-
piece: the whiche a mule was appointed to drawe. And the
companies of one pauliſ, that is to ſay, xi. men, were aſſig-
ned to addeſſe, and ſet forth the ſame. For the greater theſe
pieces

of feates of warre

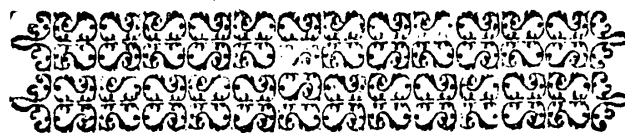
Folio. 25.

pieces be, the further and more ſtrongly they ſhoote the pel-
lets. And they not onely defende the Campe, but alſo in the
field they are planted behinde the battell of the complete ar-
med men. The hunt and violence wherof, neyther ſ horſe-
men with coates of ſence, neither footemen with their ſhiel-
des, are able to withſtand. And there are wont to be in one
Legion lb. ſielde pieces: alſo tenne greater pieces called O-
nagri, that is to ſaye, in euerie cohort one, and they are car-
ryed in tilted cartes with two Oxen, that if by chaunce the
enemies came to aſſaulte the rampyre and bulwarke, the
campe mighte be defended with arrowes and pellets. The
Legion alſo doth carrie with it, boates made hollow of one
peece of timber with very longe copes, and ſometimes alſo
with yron chaynes: and ſo ſo much as they are ioyned toge-
ther (as they ſaye) all of one peece of timber and boades ioyn-
ed together, and layde vppon them: by the helpe of theſe,
both the footemen and horſemen ſafely paſſe ouer ryuers,
whiche otherwiſe without bridges they could not paſſe ouer.
It hath alſo yron clamps which they call Lupos, and yron
hookes faſtened to great longe poles. Likewiſe it hath for
diſpatching the worke about the ditches and trenches, mat-
tockes, ſpades, ſhouls, rakes, maundes, baſaets, chipaxes,
ſawes, with the which ſtokes and other ſtuſſe are ſquared &
ſawen a ſunder. It hath alſo artificers with all kinde of yron
tooles, which for the aſſault of the Cittyes of the enemies
maye make engines, which they call Teſtudines, and Muſ-
culos, that is to ſaye, engines of warre to beate downe wal-
les, wherby they are defended which do appoach the walles
of a Cittye beſieged. And Arietes, which were pieces of or-
dinance, made lyke a rammes head to beat downe ſ walles.
And Vincas, which are an ordinance of warre made of tim-
ber & hurdles, vnder the which men went ſurely to the wal-
les of a towne beſieged. Alſo battell rammes & towers mo-
uable. But leaſt in reherſing euery thing more be ſayd then
neede: a legion ought euery wher to carrie with it all maner
of thinges, which are thoughte neceſſarye in anye kinde of
warre: that in what place ſoener it ſhall pitch the Campe,
it may make an armed Cittye. D. i.

The Prologue.



In the aunient Chronicles do testifie that the Athenians, the Lacedemonians, and the Macedonians, haue bene chiefe Lords and mighty rulers. But the Athenians haue not onely taken diligent trauaile in feates of warre, but haue also in diuers sciences famouseth flourished. As for the Lacedemonians they had their chieffest regarde, and applyed themselves most to warre. For they first of al other, gathering the experiments of fight by the successe therof, are ascribed to haue writtten of warre: in such sort & they brought that which was thought to consist in manhood & good fortune, into a forme of knowledge & cunning: & commaunded the masters of Armes (which they call Takeikous) to teach their youth the vse & diuersitye of fightinge. When worthy of prayse & much to be marueled at, which would be cunninge in that science, without the which, other sciences are altogether nothing. The Romaines following their ordinaunces both haue kepte in vse, and also sette forth in writtinge, the rules of martiall policie: which being dispersed abroad in diuers Authours & booke, you haue commaunded mee most victorious Emperour, as my meane knowledge in learning shalbe able bytselfe to abridge: least the multitude of those rules should bring tediousnes, or the small pointes be deuorde of due and full credence. But howe greatlye the knowledge of the Lacedemonians haue preuailed in battaile (to let the other passe) it is declared by the example of Xantippus: which toke Artilius Regulus, and gaue the ouerthrow to the armye of the Romaines, which before had bene conquerours against the Carthaginians. All which he did not by prowesse and manhood, but by the helpe of policie, and that triumphinglye, and at one onset to the dispatchinge of that whole battaile, and bringinge it to an ende. Hanniball when he prepared to come into Italie, sought for some Lacedemonian to leade and guide the Armye, by whose counsels (although inferiour in number & strength) he utterly destroyed so manye Consulles, so mightie and great Legions. He therefore that desyreth peace, let him prepare for warre: he that couereth the victorie, let him diligentely trayne and enstruete his souldiours: he that wylleth for prosperous successe, let him fight with art and policie, not at all aduenture and by chaunce. No man dare provoke or offende him, whom hee doth perceyue to be the better or superior, if the matter come to blowes,



What maner or of what number

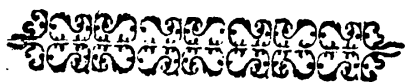
an Armye shoulde be of.

The first Chapter.



In the first Booke I haue shewed the mustering and exercyse of yonge souldiours: in the seconde was taught the orderinge of a Legion, and the knowledge & science of warfare. But this third booke doth sound the Trompettes and bloweth out the Alarum. For therefore are those thinges writtten before, that these wherein the cunninge of conflictes and the chieffest pointe of the victorie doth consist, mighte the sooner, by obseruing some order in teachinge, be vnderstoode: and thereby profite the more. An host or armye is called a multitude, as well of Legions as of aydes, and also of horsemen, gathered together to make warre. The maner whereof is, to be knowne of the maisters of armes. For whereas we reade examples of Xerxes, Darius, Michridates, and other kinges, which haue had in their armies infinite numbers of people: it doth evidently appeare that ouer great armies, haue oftner bene destroyed through the greatnes of their owne number, then through the manhood of their ennemyes. For the greater multitude is subiecte to manye chaunces: in iourneyes and byages, it is alwayes slower by reason of the basynes thereof. And when it traueyleth a lengthe, it chaunceth oftentimes to be inuaded, and to suffer losse, though the ennemyes be but fewe. And in passinge of roughe places or ryuers, it is oftentimes deceyued by the lettes and stapes of the carryages. Moreouer for the great number of cattel and horses, forage is gathered and gotten not without great labour.

Also the trouble and daunger in prouidinge grayne, and the scarcitie thereof, which in anye maner of vyages is to be auoyded, both estones encumber the greater armyes. For with howe greate studie and diligence soeuer victualles be prepared, yet the moe that they be employed and distributed vnto, the sooner they do fayle. The very water also sometimes doth scantly suffice a greate multitude. If so be that y^e armye by chaunce should be put to flighte, it must needes be that of a great nomber, a great meanye must be slaine: and that they which haue escaped being once thorowly afrayde, will afterwarde feare to fight againe. But the auncient mē of warre which by experience had learned remedies against incumberances, would not haue they^r armyes so huge in nōber, as well trayned vp in the feates of warre. Therefore in smaller battayles, they thoughte one Legion with the apbes iopned vnto it, that is to saye, tenne Thousande foote-men and two Thousand horsemen, able to suffice: which armye the Pretors beinge as meaner Captaynes, did vse to leade forth when anye vyage was in hande. If the power of the ennemyes were great, then the mighte of the Consulles (as who saye a greater authoritie) was sent with xx. Thousande footemen, and foure Thousand horsemen. If that an infinite nāber of cruell people had rebelled: then in so great and daungerous time, of neede, two Captaynes, namely both the Consulles were sent with two armyes, with suche commaundemente, that they shoulde forsee that the common wealth should take no damage nor detriment. Finally whē as y^e Romaynes almost al their time fought in diuers realmes against diuers and sondye ennemyes, their souldiours were for this cause the moze sufficiente, because they iudged it not so profitable to haue great armyes, as well instructed and trayned in the knowledge of feates of armes. Yet prouided alwayes that there should not be in the campe a greater nomber of the confederate helpes, then of Cittizens of Rome.



After

After what maner the health of an armye should be maintayned. Chapter. ij.

NDwe I will declare (which thinge ought chieftelye to be forseeene) how the health of the armye may be preserued: that is to saye, by reasonable places, waters, time, medicine, and exercise. For the places that the souldiours do not tarpe long in a pestilent and vnholsome country, nigh vnto marishes or fennes, apt to breede sickenes: nor in fieldes wanting water, nor hillles without woode: nor in y^e Sommer withoute tentes and payllions: least that goinge late from their place, they bring sickenes on them, throughe the heate of the Sunne, and wearines of their iourney: but rather in Sommer season y^e they come to the places wher vnto they meane to trauayle, before it be day: that in cruell and could Winter they trauayle not by night throughe frost and snowe, or sustaine the scarcitie or want of wood: or litle store of apparell. For that souldiour can neither be healthfull nor fitte for anye voyage, which is constrained to quare for euill. Neyther let the armye vse noysome or fowle waters: for that drinke that is made of naughtye water is like to poyson, and breadeth the pestilence in those that drinke it. Nowe as touchinge that anye compaigne of souldiours being sicke by anye such chaunce, maye be refreshed with conuenient meates, and healed with the helpe and cunning of y^e Physicians: the diligence of the rulers and Tribunes, yea and of the lieutenante himselte which executeth the greater power, shalbe requyred herevnto. For they are in verpe ill ease vppon whom the necessity both of warre and sicknes doth lye. But the experte and cunninge menne in feates of warre haue thought, that daielye exercises of armes coulde more quayle to y^e health of souldiours, then Physicians coulde. Therefore they would haue the footemen in raigne & snow, continually to be exercised for health vnder couert, at other times in the plaine field: Likewise they commaunded that the horsemen should daiely exercise both themselves and their horses, not onely in the plaine: but also in most difficult passages,

D.iii.

pages,

lages as in steepe downe places, & in the gaping of ditches. That nothing mighte happen vnto them in the necessitie of fight, which they knew not before. Wherof it is to be vnderstande with howe greake studie and diligence, the armie should at all times be learned the knowledge of armes: wher as the vse of labour both maye get them health in theyr tentes, and victorie in the battaile. In the time of Warrest & Sommer, if a multitude of souldiours to tarye longe in a place, there must needs arise most hurtful sicknes, both of the infection of the water, and smell of the verpe filthe with corrupte breathinge and naughtye ayre: whiche none other way can be kepte from them, but with oftentremouing of the Camp.

¶ With howe great care and regarde, forage of grayne ought to be provided and kepte.

¶ Chap. iij. **O**ften both requyre that we should now speake of the provision of forage & grayne. For scarcitie both maye consume an armie, then fighting: and hunger is more cruell then a sword. Wherouer other casualties be helped in time, but the providing of forage & victuall hath no helpe or remedye, vntill they be layed vpp before hande. In any manner of enterpryse this is one and the chiefeest counsaile whiche an armie may haue sufficiēt to liue with: that lacke of necessarpe thinges maye weaken the ennemyes. Therfore before warre be begonne there ought to be a wyse and prouident deuise, for money and other charges, that forage, grayne, & other victuals (whiche the olde custome did requyre of forayners) might be gathered in time: and greater store thereof then is sufficient alwayes layed vp in suche places as are strongly fenced, and most conuenient to serue the turne. If so be that the tributes or paymentes do faile, all thinges must be compassed & gotten with money payed before hand. For possession of riches is not without care, except it be kept with force of armes. But manye times there is twyse as much

much neede, & a siege oftentimes is longer then they thinke it wilbe: when as the ennemyes themselves beinge almoste famished, do not geue ouer to besiege them whom they hope may be ouercome with famine. Furthermore whatsoeuer cattell, graine, or wyne, the ennemye that causeth warre shal preuente and take to their owne prouision of victuall: (the owners thereof not onely beinge warned by publicke commaundement, but also constrained by chosen searchers) the same must be brought to conuenient houles, and strengthened with garrisons of armed men: or to safe and surely defended Citties: and the foraine people muste be called earnestly vppon, to keepe themselves and all that they haue within theyr walles before the ennemye violentlie enter in. For the repaying of the walles and all maner of ordinance, muste be looked too before. For if the ennemyes do once preuent them beinge other wyse occupied, euerye thinge is disorderd through feare: and such things as are to be damanded of other Citties, are alwayes denyed after that the passages be once stopped. But to keepe those things trustely that may be saued, and to distribute them moderatly, is as good as if there were plenty, namely if from the beginning they be well looked to. But it is to late to spare when no thinge is remaininge. In harde and daungerous voyages the auncient warriours did vse to bestowe the victuals, rather accordinge to the number of the souldiours, then to the worthynes of them. So that after the necessitie was past, then recompence was made to those that were worthe; of the common charge and coste. In the winter, the scarcenes of woode and forage, in Sommer the lacke of water is to be auoyded. But the wante of grayne, wyne and byneger, and also of salte, at all times is to be shunned: so that such souldiours as can do least seruice in the fiede, should defend the Citties and houles with armour, arrowes, slingstaues, slinges, and also stones, artillerye of all sortes. And chieflye we must take heed that the vncircumspecte simple forayne people confederate with vs, be not deceyued by the craft and periuerye of the ennemyes.

For oftentimes betwixt couenants and sayed peace, haue done more harme to suche as are lighte of credite, then the force of armes. By reason wherof, the enimies if they be altogether do suffer hunger, and if they be dispersed they are easely overcome by such as euery foote will be skirmishing with them.

¶ After what maner they ought to forsee, leaste the souldiours do make any stirre of sedition. Chap. iiii.

An army gathered oute of sondrye places sometime doth stirre up sedition and vproye, and when they are not willinge to fight, they sayne themselves to be angrye: to the intente they shoulde not be ledde to battayle. Which they chiefey do, that liued at home idlye and deliciously. For they, which would syncke fro fighting, rine headding into such desperatnes, because they are greued w the sharpnes of labour, wherwith they are not acquainted, which notwithstanding in the voyage they must needes sustayne, and moreover because they are afrayde to enter in to battayle. To the which wound men haue vsed to laye manye and diuers medecines: that they maye be holden, whiles they be yet a sander in theyr places, to all maner of knowledge and exercise with most strete sharpnes of the Tribunes, lieutenantes, and also the chiefe and principall of the armye: that they obserue nothinge els, but their solempne vowes and promise, and that wth descretion: that they haue no leysure to set their mindes on pastozes: let them be continuallye to attende to theyr name, and to their ensignes: let them practise dailye the runninge of the field (as they terme it) and the diligent beholding of the handlinge of armour and weapons: They must be helde verpe often to these exercises, and that most part of the daye, euen till they sweate a gayne, to shootinge and to throwinge stones, eyther with a slinge or with the haude, to weare armour that they maye weilde themselves in it, to pitching the barre, and with wa-

sters as though they should fight with swordes, now with the point, now with the edge to strike one at another.

Also they must with like diligence be trayned in running & leaping, that they may skippe ouer ditches, if the sea or a riuer be nye to their tentes. In Sommer time all the souldiours shoulde be constrayned to swimme: moreover to cutte downe woode, to iourney thzough bushye and shrubbye places, to square timber, to scoure the trenche, to take and kepe some place, and to endeuour themselves wth shieldes, violently meeting one another, that they be not beaten from it by theyr owne companyes. In suche wyse the souldiours of the Romaines beinge exercised and trayned at home, whether they be of the Legions or of paydes, or of the horsemen, when they shall come from diuers places to take a voyage, they must needes thzough an ambitious desyre to trye their manhoode, rather wythe for warre, then for peace. Roma doth take anye thought for seditious styring, which hath anye confidence in his cunnynge and strength. But the Capitaine ought to be cyscumpecte, if there shalbe anye trouble some or seditious souldiours amonge all the Legions, or paydes, or troupes of horsemen, that he may know them by the Tribunes, deputies & principall men, not for the ill will of the enformers, but for the truth of the matter: and the same to be seperated from the Campe by some witty deuise, to do and accomplishe some thinge, whiche euen vnto themselves maye seeme such, as in a maner they would wishe for: or els let them * fortifye and keepe some holdes and Cittyes, * w such a preepe subtiltye, that whereas in deede they be reiectet and dyspysed, they maye seeme to be chosen of purpose. For a multitude doth neuer burst out to disobedient stubbornes with like agreement: but they are styrred vp by a fewe, which hope they may with a number offende freely without punishment, for their vices and wickednes. If so be that extreeme necessitye shall requyre a remedye to be had therein, the best way is after the maner of our forefathers to punishe onely the Authoys and beginners of such faultes, that feare may come to all, punishment to a fewe. Notwithstanding those

those Captaynes are more worthy of prayse, whose armyes laboure and vse hath instructed to sobernes and humilitie, then they whose souldiours the feare of punishmente doth constrainne to obedience.

¶ Howe manye kindes there be of ensignes of warre. Chapter. v.

MAnye thinges oughte to be well learned and marked of them that fight: for why, negligence ought not to be pardoned, where as they fighte for life and death. But amongst other thinges nothinge is more profitable to the victorie, then to obeye the warninges of the ensignes. For when as in the hurlye burlye of battayles, a great number cannot be ruled with one voyce onely, and when as of verie necessitie manye thinges forthwith must be commaunded and done: the auncient vse and experience of all nations hath inuented, how the whole armye by the ensignes should knowe and follow that, which the onely Captayne iudged to be profitable and expedient. Ther are therfore as it is manifest, thre kindes of ensignes, one sort hauinge voyce, which are called Vocalia, another partlye hauing voyce, and partlye not, whiche they call Semiuocalia, the thirde withoute voyce, and they are called Muta: of þ which they that haue voyce, and they that partlye haue voyce, are percepued and knowne by the eare: but the dumme without voyce, are referred to the eyes. Vocalia, are sayd to be they, which are pronounced with the voyce of a man, so that in the watche, or in the battayle it is accompted for a tokē: as for example: victorie, rewarde, vertue, God be with vs. The triumphe of the Emperour & suche other, whatsoever they will geue which haue the greatest authoritie and power in the armye. Yet we must knowe that these woordes must euerye day be altered: least by vse the ennemys maye knowe our token or watcheworde: and searchers or spyes may be amongst our men without daunger and punishment. Simiuocalia be called which are geuen by the trumpet, or the hornes, or the shawme. The trumpet which is streight is called Buccina, which

which is bowed towards it selfe with a brassen cyrcle. The horne of the wilde bulles beinge bounde with siluer is best hearde, when it is moderated with arte, & the breath of him that bloweth it. For by these with most certayne & vndoubted soundes, the armye doth knowe whether they oughte to staye or go forthwarde, or certaintye to retye: whether they should followe the chace anye longe waye, or sounde the retreat. Muta signa, be the Eagles, Dragons, banners, redde penoncelles, redde scarfes, feathers, cresses of helmets. For whether soeuer the leader shall commaund these to be carped, thither of necessitie must al the souldiours go, following and waytinge vppon their owne ensigne. There be also dumme signes, whiche the Captayne of the warre doth commaunde to be obserued: in the boxes, in garments, and also in the verie armour: to the intent the ennemy maye be knowne from their owne companye. Moreover he signifyeth some thinge with his hande, or (after the cruell maner of rude and straunge people) with a whippe, or els mouing or styrring his apparel which he hath on. All which thinges all the souldiours shoulde acknowledge both to followe and vnderstande in their places, in iourneys, in all manner exercise of the campe. For continuall vse of that thinge is necessarie in time of peace, whiche in the confusion and trouble of þ battayle shoulde be kept. Also there is a dumme and common signe, as often as in the goinge of a multitude, the dust styrryd vpp, ryseth like cloudes, and doth bewraye the comminge of the ennemye. Likewise if armyes be deuised, the flame of fyre in the night, and in the daye time the smoke, doth signify vnto their fellowes that, which by no other meanes can be shewed. Sometimes they do hang out beames in the Turrettes of Cittyes, which otherwhyles being rayfed vpp, and otherwhyles letten downe, do declare what thinges be done.

¶ Howe great subtiltie oughte to be vsed when an armye is remoued the ennemys beinge in the night. Chapter. vi.

They

They which with great diligence haue learned the seates of warre, do affirme: that no perilles are wonte to happen in iourneyes, then in þ very battell it selfe. For in ioyninge together of the battayle, all the souldiours be armed and see the ennemye in the face, and comes wth courage to fight against him. But in the iourney a souldiour is lesse armed and lesse headfull, and he is sodenly troubled with the force and deceite of the priuie inuasion of the ennemye. Therefore the Captayne ought with all diligence, and with al care to foresee least in going he suffer inuasion of his ennemye: and that, althoughe not easely, yet without damage or losse, he resist and repell the same. First of all he ought to haue perfectlye set forth the passages of all the countreyes in the which the warre is: so that hee maye learne the distances of places, not onely by the length thereof, but also the fashion or qualites of the wayes: that hee consider the shortnes of wayes, the turninges, the mountaynes, the ryuers beinge faithfullye described vnto him. In so much that the wittier Captaynes are affirmed to haue had the iourneying descriptions of countreyes, in which they must needes haue to do, not onely dyligentlye noted, but also painted before their eyes: that they might point out the waye to them that should go, not onely with the aduise ment of the minde, but also with the sight of the eyes. Further more he shoulde dyligentlye enquire euery thinge severallye of the wyser men, and such as be of reputation and skilfull of the places, and so gather the truth of a meane. Moreover when there is daunger in chosing the wayes, he shoulde take meete guides and cunninge, and deliuer the same to the safe keepinge of others, with a sure promyse eyther of punishment or of reward, if they serue trulye. For those guides shal be profitable when they shall vnderstande that in no wyse they can escape or runne awaye, and that for their faythfulnes & truth rewardes be prepared, and for their vntruth and falsse dealinge punishmentes are readye. Also it muste be foreseene þ wysse and exper te men be soughte, lest the error of two or thre maye purchase daunger to the whole multitude.

Some.

Sometime ignorance and bolde rudenes doth promise manye thinges, and beleueth that he knoweth þ which hee doth not know. But the chiefest point of this warrenes and heede taking is: that it be kepte close vnto what places & by what wayes the armye shoulde passe forth. For it is thought þ in all wyages the thinge which muste be done, shoulde be not known. For this cause the olde men of warre haue had in their Legions the badge or signe of Minotaurus, that as he was sayd to be hidde in the innermost and most secrete place of þ maze or intricate place called Labyrinthus: euen so the intent of the Captayne shoulde be kept secrete and hidde. That iourneye is taken in hand without feare, which the ennemye doth not so much as once suspect: but because spy es sent out on the other parte, do eyther see or suspecte which waye the armye goeth, and manye times there wanteth not runnagates and traytours: it must be declared howe these beinge at hande, may be preuented and resisted. The Captayne readye to marche forth with his armye, must sende most trustye and fine witted men with the best tryed horses: which maye searche the places throughe which they must take their iourneye, before and behinde, on the righte hand and left hande, least the ennemyes go about to set an ambushmente, and lye in waite to deceiue them. But þ searchers or spy es do worke more safelye by night then by daye. For he, after a certaine maner is a traytour to himselfe, whose spy e or scoutewatch maye be taken of his ennemyes. Therefore let the horsemen go first: after them the footemen, carriages, Archers, pages, and in the middell the waggons must be placed: so that part of the light armed footemen, and light harnessed horsemen do followe. For seldome as they do marche on, they are inuaded before, but more often behinde. Also on the sydes þ carriages ought to be garded with a good company of souldiours. For they that lye in waite, oftentimes with a contrarye course rushe into some other place of the armye, then where they are suspected. This also is specially to be obserued, that þ part, to the which the ennemye is lykeliest to come, may be fortified with the most choise horsemen, with lighte armed

armed men, and also with archers on foote set purposely to withstand them. If so be that the ennemyes do assaile on euery syde, then euery syde must be defended. But least sodaine trouble should exceedingly hurte them, the souldiours are to be warned afozehande, that they be ready with mind and courage, and that they haue theyr weapons in theyr handes. If so sodaine chaunces which amase men most whē they are put to theyr pynche, are nothing fearefull, if they be provided for afozehande. The olde men of warre did most diligentely take heede least the souldiours in theyr fight should be troubled by the pages sometime beinge hurt, sometimes being in feare, and least archers throughte theyr crye should be made afrayde: leasse that eyther beinge scattered farre a sunder, or gathered together on heapes, they might let their owne partye more then profite them, & by reason thereof further the ennemyes. And therefore euen as the souldiours marche forth, so they also leade the carryages well appointed vnder certaine ensignes. Finallye they did choise of the verye pages (which they cal headpeece bearers) such as were fit and cunninge by experience: whom they make as it were Captaynes, ouer two hundred fletchers & other yong fellows, and not aboue. Unto these they gaue banners or flagges, & they might know to which ensignes they oughte to gather their carryages together. But the fightinge men are deuided from the carriages a pteate space, least beinge thrust thicke together while the armye is in marchinge forward, they may be hurt in fight. As the places do differ, so the maner of defence should be altered. For in open fieldes horsemen vse to assault the armye, rather then footmen. But in places full of woods, hilles, or fennes, footmen are more to be drede. This also muste be auoyded, least while one sort make to much hast another sort throught negligence going to slowlye, the armye be broken a sunder in the middell. Or els peraduenture be made thinnē. For the ennemyes alwayes make their inuasion there, where the armye is slender. Therefore the most expert Captaynes of the field, the deputies of the Tribunes must be set befoze, whiche maye staye them

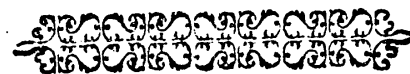
them that go to faste, and constrayne them to make hast that go to slowlye: for they that go a greate waye befoze, if a sodaine inuasion come, do not so much couet to retyre, as to fle. But they that be last, being left behinde of their owne compayne, what with the violence of the ennemyes and theyr owne dyspayning, are straight waye ouercome. We must also know, that the ennemyes do pryncipallye laye ambushmentes in such places as they perceyue meete for them: or els do assaile them with open battaile. But least anye pryncipal places may do hurte, that the diligence of the Captayne prouideth for, whose dutye it is to searche euery thing befoze hand. Also the ambushe beinge perceyued, if it be compassed aboute polittikelye, it doth suffer more perill and daunger, then it went about to do. But if an open power be prepared in the mountaynes, the higher places must be taken vp with aydes sent befoze: to the entent that when the ennemyes shal come, he maye be on the lower ground, and then he dare not aduenture to withstande, when he seeth armed men as wel befoze him, as aboue his head. If so be that the wayes be narrowe, and not safe enoughe, yet it is better that souldiours go befoze, with hatchets and axes, and with labour to make the wayes open and plaine, then in neuer so good a waye to suffer perill and daunger. Moreouer we ought to know the vnuall trade of oure ennemyes, whether by nighte, or in the dawning of the daye, or in the time of repasse, their custome is to assaile theyr wearyed ennemyes: and to eschewe that, which after their accustomed trade we thincke they will do. Furthermore it behoueth vs to knowe, whether they canne do more with footemen, or horsemen: whether with slingers, pykemen, or archers: whether they excell vs in number of men, or munition & fence of armour and weapons: & then we ought to order that thing well, & we know profitable to our selues, & contrary to them. We ought also to consider & deliberate, whether it be better to begin our iourney by day or by night: what & how great distaunces be of the places to which we couet to make hast: least in Sommer the scarcity of water hinder vs in forneying: in winter dangerous fennes & such

such as men cannot passe, or great waters: and by such meanes þ iourneye being letted, our hoast may be cōpassed or entrapped before it can come to the place appointed. As it is our commoditie at all times to auoyde these thinges: so if þ ignorance or negligence of þ ennemys shal geue vs occasiō, it oughte not to be let passe: but we ought instantly to allure the traytors & spyes, to the intent that we may knowe whae our ennemye both presently and afterwarde doth purpose to do: and with hoysmen in readines, or light armed footemē, prepared for the purpose to beguile them, and so to cast them into a sodaine feare, as they be ranginge abroad seekinge for forage and victuals.

¶ After what maner greates ryuers maye be passed ouer. Chap. viij.

In the passinge ouer of ryuers they that are not verie circumspecte, are oftentimes exceedingly molested. For if any water be rough and boysterous, or the chanelle verye broad, it manye times drowne the carriages and the hoxes and nowe and then slouthfull and lyther souldiours. Therefore after the forde be serched, two troupes of good hoysmen vpon chosen hoyses are appointed, beinge separte a sunder a reasonable space, that the footemē and carryages maye passe ouer through the middell: for the former troupe doth breake the violence of the waters, and the latter doth gather and put ouer such as be caughte and were vnder the water. But when the floude is deeper, so þ neyther footemē nor yet hoysman can passe it: if it do runne through plaine places, it is best to deuide þ ryuer into many partes w ditches, & thus being parted, þ passage ouer wil be easye. But ryuers are made easye to passe ouer wyth boates, or with spearessaues rammed fast into the earth & plantchers layd ouer them, or els with muche labour to gather together as many emptye vessels as can be, and to laye boards ouer the. But the experie hoysmen vse to make bundells of drye reedes or flagges, vppon the whiche they do put theyr armour

and weapons, least they shoulde synke. They men selues, and their hoyses dyd swimme after their bundells and so passe the ryuer. But experience hath founde out this to be a more commodious waye, that the hoxse doe carie with it in cartes certayne boates, whiche they call Monoxilos, that is to say boates somewhat broad, made hollowe, all of one beame, very light accordyng to þ kinde & fines of the woode, hauing boardes lykewyse and Iron nayles in a readines for that purpose. And thus a brydge being made without delay, and bounde strongly with roopes (whiche for the same purpose muste be prepared, wylbe as stronge for the tyme as if it were a brydge of stone. But the enemies are nowe alreadye vppon the bankes, and their vse is to lye in wayte, and to come vppon them that passe ouer of a sodayne. Against the whiche extremitie or neede, companies well armed, are set in the banke on either syde, least they being deuied by the chanelle that runneth betwene them, shoulde be oppressed of the enemies. But the surest waye is, to fasten stakes before on both sydes, that if any assaulte be made they maye sustayne it without harme. If so bee that the brydge bee necessarye, not onely for passinge ouer, but also for comminge backe againe, and prouision of victualles: then at either ende it shoulde haue souldiours to defende it, and broad ditches shoulde bee cut out of it with a rampyre made by it, and the souldiours shoulde keepe and defende the brydge as longe as they shall haue any necessarye affaires in those places.



¶ After what maner a campe shoulde be placed.
Chapiter. viij.

Thus hauing described the maner how an armie shoulde be ordered in the iourney, it seemeth good next to come vnto the orderinge of the tentes, wherein wee muste remayne. For in tyme of warre, a fortified or walled citie is

not alwayes ready in the waye to abyde at, and it is an vn-
 wylse pointe and very dangerous, that they shoulde staye
 or abyde euery where without any munition or foote: when
 as the souldiours being busied to take their meate, or scat-
 tered abroade to doe anye thinge pertayning to their charge:
 it is an easie matter to fynde out wyles to entrappe them
 or euer they bee aware. Finally, the darkenes of nyghte, the
 necessitie of sleape, the scatteringe of the hoyses when they
 feede, doe minister occasion to sodayne inuasions. In pit-
 ching a campe, it is not inough to chose a good place: except
 it be suche one that an other better then it can not be founde,
 least wee, forsakynge the better place, & our enemies takynge
 it to their vse, wee may chaunce to smarte for it. Wee muste
 also take heede in Sommer, least either corrupte water be
 nyghe the armie, or holosome water be farre of: In Wynter
 least wee lacke store of forage, or plentie of woode nowe and
 then: leaste the fielde wherein wee muste abyde nowe and
 then bee ouerflowed with sodayne stormes, leaste it bee pit-
 ched in steepe downe and roughe places, and suche as if the
 enemies shoulde besiege vs, wee myghte hardely get forth:
 leaste it bee within the reache of oure ennemies arrowes,
 when they caste them from hyghe places ouer oure heades.
 The whiche thinges being foreseene warely and diligently
 as they ought to be, thou shalt make the campe, either foure
 square, or rounde, or thre cornered, or els longewayes, ac-
 cording to the necessitie of the place. For the fashion or forme
 is not preiudiciall to any commoditie. Neuerthelesse, those
 campes are thought sayest, whiche are longer by the thirde
 parte, then they are broade. But they that betwe and suruay
 the fielde, ought so to measure euery foote thereof, that the
 armie maye bee compacted accordinge to the numbze of the
 same. For if the campe be narrowe, they in the forefront
 hemme it in to straightly. And if it be to broade, they scatter
 farther then they shoulde doe. There be thre wayes where-
 by they saye a campe may be fortified. The first they saye, is
 somewhat sleight, seruing them one night onely whyle they
 are in their iourney, that is to digge by turues and to laye
 them

them in order rounde about the campe vppon heapes, and
 aboue them in good order to make a pale. I meane to sette
 stakes there, or byers and bymbles. A turfe it cut of earth,
 that containeth both the grasse, the rootes & the earth also,
 and is cut out of the ground with an Iron spade or such like,
 it is made halfe a foote deepe, a foote broade, a foote and a
 halfe long. If it be so that the ground be so sandy that after
 the fashion of a byrke, a turfe can not be cut vp, then euery
 man must set to his helping hand to the making of a ditch,
 whiche must be fine foote broade and thre foote deepe, in the
 inner side whereof a rampire must be raised: so that the armie
 may take their rest without feare. But if the campe remaine
 in one place, then whether it be sommer, or winter, if so be y
 enemy be at hande, it must with greater care and labour be
 fortified: for euery hundred haue their stations appointed out
 by the captaines and generals of the fild, whiche they take
 and kepe the vnto: and laying of their shield & fardels about
 their owne ensignes, they girde their swordes vnto them, &
 caste a trenche about the armie of .ix. foote, or .xi. or .xiii. foote
 broade, or els if they feare a greater power of enemies. xviij.
 foote broade, (for it is a custome alwayes to obserue an odde
 numbze) then they raise by a rampire and hedge it about, or
 els driue stakes into it, & bowes of trees, least y earth shoulde
 slide away: vpon the whiche rampire they make battilmentes
 and fortrelles, euen as they doe vpon a stone wall. The cap-
 taines do measure out this worke with poles or perches. x.
 foote long, least any man shoulde digge lesse then he ought, or
 els thzough his fellowes negligence shoulde digge out of
 square. The tribunes also ouerse this worke, neither do they
 departe if they be good & diligēt in their office, before that al
 be finished. Now least there shoulde be any sodayne inuasiō on
 the that labour, all the hoysmen & part of y footemē whiche
 doth not worke by reason of prerogatiue of dignitie, do stand
 armed in readines before the trenche, that they maye with-
 stande the enemies inuading the. Therefore, within y campe y
 standers are first set in their places: because there is nothing
 moze to be had in reuerēce of y souldiours, the y maiestie of y
 layne. The paullion called Prætorijū, is prepared for y chiefe
 C. ii. captain

captaine and his companie. Other tentes are pitched for the tribunes, vnto whome water, woode, forage, are ministred by certayne companies assigned to those charges. Then accordinge to their degree, are places appointed in the campe for the legions, aides, horsemen, and footemen, wherein they may pitche their paulions: and there be chosen of euery hundred foure horsemen and foure footemen, which doe keape the watches by nighte. And for as muche as it seemed vnpowable, or a very harde thing, in the watche to let for euery one to continewe watching all the whole night: therefore the watches are deuided by an howze glasse into foure partes, that it shoulde bee neede for noone to watche more then thre howzes in the night. The watches are begunne by a trompetter, and after the howzes be ended, they are called awaie agayne by a blower of a horne. But for all this, the tribunes doe choose and pyke out fitte and tried men, whiche maye goe aboute the watches, and shewe if anye faulte maye appeare, whome they call *Circuitores*, that is to say searchers of the watche. Nowe are these made a certayne degree in the warres, and are called *Circitores*, that is to saye, officers going aboute to see good rule in the nyghte. Yet we muste knowe that the horsemen ought to watche without the trenche and bulwarke. But euery daye tyme, after the campe bee pitchte, they doe vse to take order for warding and posthouses, some in the morninge, some after noone, for weareing of the men and horses. Among the chiefe and speciall pointes, it behoueth the captayne, whether hee remayne in the campe or in a citie, to prouide that feeding for the cattell, conueying of grayne & other kindes, the cariage of water, woode, and forage bee made assured and without daunger, from the inuasion of their ennemies. Whiche thyng otherwyse can not come to passe, excepte in meete and conuenient places, by whiche the prouision of cure victualles muste passe, there bee sette and disposed places of refuge and succoure: whether they bee cities or defended castels. If so bee that any oulde munition bee not founde, there muste hastelye bee made sure fortresses compassed

compassed about with great ditches. For the worde fortresses, is so named being deriued of this woorde forte: as who saye, a litle forte or castle, within the whiche a certayne number of horsemen and footemen continuing, hauing charge to watche and attende for the saue, doe conducte and make safe the waye, for the conueyaunce of victualles. For the enemy dare scarcely aduēture to come to those places, in which he knoweth his aduersaries to abide both before & behinde.

¶ What maner, and howe great thinges should be considered, to vnderstande whether we ought to fight with skirnishng, and lying in waite, or with open battayle. Chap. ix.

VWhosoeuer will vouchesafe to reade these bridgemēts brieely gathered out of the moste experte and tried authors, he coueteth quickly to heare the lawe, or maner of a fiede foughten, and the preceptes or rules of fighting. But an open or a set battayle, is soone determined by the triall of two or thre houres space: after that all hope of the syde which is ouercome, doth once begimme to fal & decay. Therefore al thinges should be thought on & assaied before, that it come to the vttermoste & laste breaking of. For good captaines doe not assaye the fiede with open battaile, where ensueth common daunger to al, but alwayes closely and priuily, that by that meanes they might destroye, or at the least terrifie their enemies, their owne souldiours being yet fresh and lustie. Concerning whiche parte, I wyll declare suche thinges as are very necessary, whiche I haue gathered out of olde wyters. The chiefe art and commoditie of the captaine, is oftentimes to debate & entreate of his owne power, and also of his enemies power, taking vnto him throughtout all his armie experte and cuninge men of warre, and also wyse and discrete men, that (all flatterie set a part) which is very hurtefull, hee maye knowe whether hee or his enemies haue the greater number of fighting men: whether his men or his enemies be better armed, & furnished with artillerie, whiche are moste exercised, and which in greatest daungers

are more balaunt. He must also enquire whether part haue better horsemen, and whether better footemen. He must also knowe that the strengthe of the armie doth chiefly consist in the footemen: and among the horsemen hee must see whiche were beste with the launce, and whiche with the bowe, who haue the best armoure, the best horses: last of al, whether the places in whiche they must fighte, be more commodious for the enemies then for them selues. For if we delite in an hoste of horsemen, we must desire the playne fieldes: if in an hoste of footemen, we must chose suche places, as be narrowe and streight, enuironed and stopped with ditches, marishes, and fennes: or wth trees, & sometime hillie places: for the whiche armie, store of victuall must be had, rather to muche then to little. For hunger (as men say) dothe pinche inwardly, and oftentimes doth ouercome without dinte of swoorde. But chiefly he must consulte and deliberate, whether it bee more profitable to prolong the vrgent necessitie of battaile, or to fight it out of hande. For sometime the aduersarie doth hope that the voiage may soone be ended: and if it may be delayed any longer, either the armie is famished for lacke of victuals, or is called away to their owne, through the loue and desire that they haue thereof: or els hauing done nothing worthy of prayse, is compelled to departe through dispaire. Then many discouraged with paines and wearines doe forsake him: some betraye him, and some yelde them selues to their enemies. For in aduersitie faithfulness is rare, and he that came welthie, nowe beginnes to be bare and needy. It is profitable also to knowe what maner of man the aduersary is, what his companions are and leaders, whether they be rashe and hastie, or ware and circumspect, whether they bee hardy or feareful: cunning in the feates of warre, or such as are wote to fight at all aduenture: what balaunt people haue foughte with them, what cowardly and fearefull: of what trustines our aydes be, and of what force: what courage his armie is of, and what also our hoste hath: and whiche parte doth more hope for the victorie, for by suche cogitations manhoode is either

either encreased or diminished. By the encouraging of the captaine, euen those whiche despaire are muche boldened, & if hee bee not feareful, they waxe couragious, if he hath done any balaunt acte, either by laying wayte, or by other occasion offered: if thinges goe not well, but fall out vnluckelye with their enemies: if he can vanquishe any of his enemies, either suche as bee weaker, or not so well armed. But you must take diligent hede that you bring not forth the armie to fight at any tyme, if it be doubtfull or fearefull. It is very necessary to knowe whether you haue newe souldiours or olde. Whether they haue bene some little time in warres, or haue continued a good whyle in peace and quietnes: for they are to bee esteemed as younge souldiours whiche haue not fought a long season. But when the legions, aides or horsemen doe come from sundrie places to vs, a noble and worthy captaine oughte to exercise euery company severally in all kinde of weapons and artillerie by the tribunes or marshals thereto appointed, whose diligence hee hath tried before: and after warde shall exercise them gathered together into one place, as though they should fighte in open battaile. Hee him selfe shall often trie and proue what cunning they haue, what force, howe they agree together, whether they can be readie at the sound or blowing of the trumpettes, at the shewing of the ensignes, yea, & at euery becke and commaundement. If they doe amisse in any poynt, they must be exercised and instructed, vntil they be cunning and experte. Although they maye bee fully instructed in runninge in the fieldes, and other exercise: in shootinge, in throwyng dartes, in settinge the armie in ordre: yet they muste not rashely bee broughte to the open or sette battaile vppon euery lyght occasion, but they muste fyrste bee entered and acquainted with litle encounters. Therefore the paynfull, discrete and wyle Captayne, doothe iudge of his owne, and also of his aduersaries power, euen as hee and his counsell shoulde iudge of a ciuile matter betwene partie and partie. If he be founde

more able and better furnished in many thinges, let him not differ the conuenient and fitte occasion of fighting. But if he perceiue his enemy to bee the better, let hym auoyde the open and sette battayle. For a fewer in numbre, and weaker in strength, oftentimes vnder good captaines haue obtained the victorie by sodayne inuasions, and lying priuely in wayte.

¶ What must be done if any captayne haue an army out of vse of fighting, or an armie of younge souldiours. Chapter.x.

ALl artes and sciences, and all our dayly workes doe proceede and encrease by continuall vse and exercise, which if it be true in smal thinges, howe muche more ought it to bee obserued in the greatestt affaires. And who doth doubt that the knowledge and skyll of warre, is more mightie then all other thinges: by the whiche libertie is mainteined, and the dignitie of a prince enlarged, and the Empire mainteined and preserved. The Lacedemonians, in tymes past (all other kyndes of learning set aside) did iudge this onely to be obserued, and after that the Romaines lyke wyse. And euen at this tyme, the barbarous and straunge nations, doe also thinke that this onely ought to be obserued and kepte. And they haue suche confidence herein, that they thinke all other thinges doe consist in this: or that they may obtayne all thinges throughe this. This vnto them that must fight, is very necessary, by whiche they may saue their lyfe, and obtaine the victorie. Therefore a captayne vnto whome the worthe honours of so great power and authoritie are geuen: to whose faithfulness and prowes, the goodes of the possessours, the defence of cities, the safetie of the souldiours, the honour of the common wealthe is committed: ought to be carefull, not onely for the whole armie, but also for euery particuler companie of the same. For whatsoever doth happen in the warre otherwyse then well, the faulte is his, but the iniurie and hurte is common. Therefore if he guide an armie of younge souldiours, or suche as haue

haue bene long out of vse in chivalry, he ought diligently to trie and searche the strength, courage and experience of euery bande of the legion, and also of euery company of the horsemen. Let him also knowe (if it bee possible) by name, who is captaine vnder him, who is tribune, whiche bee his householde seruantes, whiche be common souldiours in euery bande, and howe muche he can doe in the warre: and let him get great authoritie by shapenes and seueritie: let him punish the all the souldiours faultes by the lawes, let him not bee thought to winke at any that offendeth, let him vnderstande and knowe the prooffe and triall of all in sundrie places vpon diuers occasions. These thinges (as it becometh) being thus ordeed and looked to, when the enemies doe wander abroad carelesse, dispersed here and there for booties, then let him sende expert and tried horsemen, or els footemen with the younge and meaner souldiours, to the entent that if, by occasion the enemies bee foiled, they might bee made more cunning, and the other more bolde and hardie. Let him place certayne companies very priuely to come sodainly on the enemies at the passing ouer of Riuers, at the steepe or fall of mountaynes, at the narrowe straightes of woodes, at the dangerous passages of fennes and other wayes. And let him order his owne iourney so, that beinge readye and well furnished, he may set vpon them, either when they are eating or sleaping, or being idle, careles, vnarmed, vnthodde, their horses being scattered abroad, suspecting nothing: because in suche skirmishes his souldiours may bee boldened and encouraged. For they whiche before of a longe tyme or neuer in their life haue seene men wounded or slayne: at the first sight are so afrayde, that they quake and tremble: and being amased throught feare, haue more mynde of flying then of fighting. Furthermore, if the enemies doe range abroad to make inuasions, let him set vpon them after they be weary with their longe viage: and let him inuade the hindermoste, euen at vnwares. Let him also sodainly preuent with chosen men, such as either for forage, or for a bootie do tarie a great waye from their companie. For these thinges must be tried

first,

firste, whiche if they haue ill successe, it doth small harme: if they prosper well, it doth muche auayle. It is the pointe of a good captayne to minisster and byeede causes of discorde amongst the enemies. For no nation though it bee very little, can quickly be destroyed of the enemies, except it bee consumed with priuate dissensions and hatred within it self. For ciuile discorde and hatred is to hastie and rashe in seeking the destruction of the enemies, and to careles and heedles of foreseeing of their owne defence and safetie. And in this enterpryse, this one thinge muste bee forgettolde, that no man shoulde dispayre of the perfourminge of those thinges whiche haue bene done before. But some man may saye that no man in many yeares space doth enuironne an army which is pitched, in a place compassed about with a ditch, a rampire or trenche. I aunswere hym thus, that if this heede were taken the sodaine inuasion of enemies, neither by night nor daye, coulde doe any hurte at al. The Persians following the example of the Romaines, doe pitche their campes with ditches drawen about: and for as muche as all places in a manner be sandie, they fill sackes, whiche they caried empty with earth very dustie and drie (which in those places is digged) and with an heape of them they doe make a rampire. At the barbarous people hauing their cartes ioyned together in a rounde compasse, after the manner of a rampire, do passe ouer the nightes quietly, and out of daunger of them that do inuade them. And doe we feare that we can not learne those thinges whiche others haue learned of vs? These thinges must be learned by experience, and also by reading of suche thinges as before tyme were obserued: but being left of for a great whyle, no man hath sought them out, because that as long as peace flourished, the necessitie of warre was far out of mynde. But least it may seeme impossible to renewe and restore the knowledge of marshall affayres, being long intermitted and decayed for lacke of exercise, examples may sufficiently teache vs in this point. The knowledge of warfare hath oftentimes bene forgotten with them of olde, but it hath bene sought out againe in booke, and confirmed by the skill.

the skill and authoritie of good captaines. Scipio Africanius, did take the armies which were in Spayne, being oftentimes ouercome vnder dyuers generall captaines: and obseruing the order and preceptes of warfare, hee so diligently exercised the in casting of ditches, & making treches, that he would saye commonly that diggers muste bee defiled with myre, whiche would be washed with the bloud of their enemies. And at the lengthe with those he so fired the Numantines, that their citie was taken, and neuer one escaped. Metellus receiued an armie in Aphrike, whiche was subdued vnder Albinus their generall captaine: whiche he did so repaire with olde preceptes and pollicie of the auncient warriours, that afterwarde they ouercame them, of whom they had bene subdued before. The Germanes also in Fraunce, destroyed the legions whiche Cepio, Manilius and Sillanus led: the remnaunt wherof, whē Caius Marius had receiued, he so instructed them with knowledge and skill of fighting, that hee destroyed in open battayle an innumerable multitude, not onely of Zelanders, but also of Germanes, & Hungarians. For it is easier to instructe souldiours of new vnto prowesse, then to cal againe them that be througly afraide.

¶ What thinges should be done the same daye, that the open or set battaile should be ioyned.

Chapiter. xj.

The more easie feates of warre bringe declared before, the order of the trade & knowledge of warfare, dothe moue me nowe to come to the doubtfull daie of the open fight, and mortall daie vnto nations and people. For the whole victorie consisteth in the successe of open battayle. Then at this tyme so muche more ought the captaines to be diligent and carefull, in as muche as greater renoune is hoped for of them that be diligent, and the greater daunger dothe followe them that bee slouthfull and vnerpette: in whiche the vse of skilfulnes, the knowledge and pollicie of fighting, incontinent doth trie and rule all the matter.

In olde

In olde tyme they were wonte to bypnyng forth the souldiours to fight, refreshed before with a small portyon of meate: to the intent that their meate receiued might make them the quicker: and that in the longer bickeringe they mighte not be wearied with hunger. Great care also must be had, if the enemies be present, whether you bypnyng forth the souldiours to the battell out of the campe, or out of a citie, least whyles the armie goeth forth through the straighte passage of the gates by small numbres, it be discomfited of the enemies gathered together in a readines. Therefore this muste be provided, that all the souldiours doe issue forth of the gates, and the armie be set in araye before the enemy come. If so be that the enemies beinge ready come to them abiding still in the citie: let their issuing forth, either bee differred, or at the least dissembled: that when the aduersaries shall beginne to aduance and boaste them selues against those whome they thinke wyl not come forth of their citie: when as they shall retire, and purpose to gette some bootie, and so shall breake their araye, then they beyng astonied, let the moste choise and piked men rushe out, and forthwith set vpon them at vnawares. But this must be obserued that the souldiours be not wearied with any long iourney: least you compel the horses being wearie after their running to the open battaile. He that shall fight, must needes be muche weakened with the trauayle and payne of the iourney. What shall he doe that comes blowyng & panting to the battell? This thing the olde men of warre haue alwayes shunned, and in the tyme late passed, when as the Romaine captaines, through ignorance, haue not bene ware of, (so that I wyl saye no more) they haue vtterly cast away their armie. For the state or condition is vnlyke, for him that is wearie, to fight with him that is well refreshed: he that sweateth with him that is freche: he that runneth with him that stode still.

¶ We must diligently searche out, what myndes the souldiours be of, when they should fight.
Chapiter. xij.

The very same daye that the souldiours shall fighte, it is meete to searche diligently what they thinke. For fearefulness or confidence is perceiued by the countenance, talke, going, & mouing: neither ought you to be very bolde, although the young souldiours do couet to fight. For battaile is pleasaunt to suche as haue not tried it, and you may be assured that the battaile muste bee prolonged if the expert warriours be afrayed to encounter with their enemies. Yet with the aduertisements and exhortations of the captaine, manhode and courage encreaseth in all the army, specially if they can perceiue suche order and meanes inuented for the battaile that shall be foughten, that they may be in hope easely to attayne the victorie. After this, the cowardnes and ignorance of the enemies must be declared. And also, if they haue bene ouercome of vs before tyme. Suche thinges also muste bee declared, by the whiche the mindes of the souldiours through hatred of the aduersaries, may be stirred to anger and indignation. For this is geuen naturally almoste to all men to be afrayde, when as they come to the ioyning of battaile. But without doubt they are more fearefull, whose mindes the very sight of the enemies doth amaze and trouble. But that feare is mitigated by this remedie, if before you shall fight, you doe often set your armie in araye in safe places: from whence they may vse both to be we the enemies and to knowe them. Sometime they maye venture some thing of good occasion, and so either chase or slea the enemies: that they maye knowe the manners and fashions of the enemies, their armour and their horsemen. For the thynges whiche are practised by experience, are lesse fearefull.

¶ Howe a meete place should be chosen to fight in.
Chapiter. xij.

It behoueth a good captaine to know, that the very place wherein they must fight, doth contayne a great part of the victorie. Take paines therefore, that when you shall ioyne battaile,

battaille, first you haue the aduantage of the place: whiche the higher it shalbe when as it is taken, it is thought to bee the moze commodious. For the dartes & other weapons are cast down with greater force against them that be vnder: and the higher part both driue them back that withstande, with greater violence. He that forceth him selfe against the rising or bending of an hill, he doth take on hand a double conflict, both to strue with the place and with the enemy. But here must be discretion had, and a difference made if you hope for the victorie through your footemen, against the horsemen of your enemies, you must choose rough places, vneuen, and full of hilles. But if you seeke the victorie against the footemen of your enemies through your horsemen, you must choose suche places as bee in deede somewhat hygher, but playne and open, encumbred neyther with woodes, nor with fennes.

Howe an armie ought to be set in order, that in the battell it may be inuincible, or not easely overcome. Chapter. xiiiij.

HE that goeth about to set his battell in good order, he ought to forsee three thinges: the Sunne, the duste, & the wynde. For the sunne before their faces, doth blesme the or dafell their sight, a contrary wynde dothe turne away your dartes and beate them downe, and furthereth those of the enemies. The duste gathered before the face filth the eyes and closeth them vp. The unskilfull captaynes vse to auoyde these incommadities euen in that very moment when they set the battaille in arae: but a wyle and circumspecte captaine oughte to take heede betime, & forsee things to come, leasse a litle whyle after the daye comminge, the course of the sunne being chaunged, it maye be hurtful: and leasse a contrarie wynde dothe ryle, euen in the tyme of the battayle. Therfore let the rankes be so set in arae that they may be behinde vs: and (if it may be possible) that they maye be full in the face of our enemies. Asies is called an armie set in

set in order and in good arape, and the forefronte of it is placed directly against the enemies. This forefronte in open or sette battayle, if it be wysely sette in order, dothe helpe and profite very much. If they be ordered unskilfully, if they were neuer so good warriours, yet with ill setting in arape, they are soone vanquished and ouerthrowen. The rule of setting in arape, is that in the firste rancke bee placed the experte and oulde beaten souldiours, whome in olde tyme they called Principes, that is the moste experte and valiaunt souldiours. In the seconde rancke muste bee appointed archers, being armed with curets or breastplates, and the best souldiours with dartes or els speares, who of olde were called Hasti, that is pikemen. Euery armed man was accustomed to take streight foot the three foote space betweene one and other. That is to saye, in the space of a myle, a thousande sixe hundred three score and sixe, are placed and sette in lengthe, that neyther the battayle maye appeare thynne betweene the souldiours, and that there maye bee roume enough to handle their weapons. They would haue betweene one rancke and other, a space beynde their backs, sixe foote in bredthe, that they that fyghte, myghte haue roume to come forewarde and goe backwarde. For the dartes in leaping and running, are caste with a greater violence. In those twoo rankes are placed suche as are of riper age, hardie through vse and experience, and also armed with moze heauie and weightie harnesse. For these as a wall within them selues can not be compelled, either to retyre, or to pursue their enemies: leasse they should disorder their rages: but are ready to receiue the enemies marching forewarde, and by standing stoutly to it and fighting valiantly, eyther to driue them backe, or put them to flyghte. The thyrde order or raze, is placed of the lyghtest armed menne, of archers, beyng younge men, of good casters of dartes, which in olde tyme were called Ferentarii, that is, men armed in lyghte harnisse, readie to come quickely to succours. The fourth order muste be sette with the moste readie souldiours, which are armed with shieldes, with younge archers and

and such as fight with dartes and leaden plūmettes (which they name Martiabarbulos, all which were called light har-
nissed men. Therefore wee muste knowe for as muche as the
twoo first orders doe stande still: the thirde order & the fourth
with their dartes and arrowes, must alwayes goe forth to
prouoke the enemies. If so be that they can put the to flight,
then they with the horsemen doe pursue. But if they be driue
backe by the enemies, they returne to the firste and seconde
orders againe, and amongst them euery one takes his owne
place. But the firste and seconde battayle, as soone as they
come to fight with dint of swoozdes, and shorpe dartes, that
is (as they saye commonly) to hande strokes they endure and
beare of, the brunt of all the battaile. In the fiftie raze or
battayle, sometyne were planted field peeces, and shooters
in crossebowes, slingers both with the slynge staffe, and with
the hande. They be called Fundibulatores, whiche caste sto-
nes with staffe slinges. The slinge staffe is a staffe foure foote
long: to the whiche through the myddes is bounde a ringe
of leather: and being forced with both handes, dothe caste
leuell the stones in manner of a great gunne. Funditores,
be suche as caste stones with slinges made of flaxe, threede,
or great heares, for these they doe call the better, they doe
throwe stones, fetchyng their arme rounde about their head.
They that had no shieldes, did fight in this order, whether
it were with stones caste with hande, or with dartes: whom
they did name Accensos, as who saye, as yet younger men
and not expert, but afterwarde added and put to the legion.
The sixte order, was upholden and stayed with the moste
balaunt and couragious warriours, and suche as hadde
shieldes and were fenced with al kinde of armour and wea-
pons: whome the auncient men did name Triarios, that is
to saye souldiours whiche be set alwayes in the reerwarde,
whiche were the strongest men. These are alwayes placed
after the laste ranks: that being rested & freshe, they might
more sharpe assaulte their enemies. For if any thing had
happened otherwys the well vnto the first orders, al hope
of recovery did hange and depende of their force & strengthe.

The

The maner of measuring by the foote, how much
space in the battell should be betweene euery man
in length, or in breadeth, and howe much be-
twixt euery rancke. Chap. xv.

But after that I haue sette forth in what maner the ar-
mye ought to be set in aray, nowe I wil declare the
footinge and measuring of the same. In one myles
space one battell doth containe 1666. footemen: because that
euery souldiour doth occupye thre foote space. If that you
would ordeine sixe battelles in a myle space, there must nee-
des be 9996. footemen. But if you would pitch the same
number in thre ranckes, you must take .2000. paces. But
it is better to make mo battelles, then to disperse them far-
ther a sonder. But I sayde before that there oughte to ap-
peare betweene euery rancke behinde their backs sixe foote
in breadth. And the fighters as they stande to take euery one
a foote. And therefore if you would set in aray vi. ranckes
or battelles: 42. foote in breadth, and a myle in lengthe
will containe an armye of tenne Thousand men. But if you
would set the same in aray deuided into thre battelles. 21.
foote in breadth, and two myles in length, will containe the
armye of tenne Thoulande men. After the same maner, whe-
ther there be xx. thousand or .30. thousande footemen, accor-
dinge to the measuring by the foote, they maye be set in aray
very easely. Neither is the Captaine deceived when hee
knoweth howe many armed men euery place can containe.
Finallye if the place be somewhat streight, or if the number
be sufficient, then it is best to set them in nine battels or moe.
For it is better that they fight thicke together, then seuered
further, & a great distaunce one from another. For if the bat-
tell be made to slender and thinne, the ennemyes do easely
breake through, and disturbe the aray by violent inuasion,
and no helpe afterwarde can be had. But what bandes ought
to be set in the right wing, what in the lefte, and what in the
middle, it is obserued by a custome and maner, either accor-
dinge to their dignities & degrees, or els for the order and
fourme of the ennemyes it is altered.

F. i.

Di

¶ Of settinge the hozsemen in order Chap. xvi.

After þ the footemen be set in battell raze, the hozsemē are set in þ winges, so þ all they þ be in complete harnesse, & such as haue lances be ioyned to the footemē. But archers & such as are not well armed, let them roue a broode, & keepe a louse from those which are better armed, & more valiant souldiours. For the sydes be defended w hozsemen, and the winges of the ennemyes must be seperate, scattered and disturbed by the quicke and light hozsemen. The Captaine ought to know against what troupes of the ennemyes, or against what ranckes of his ennemyes, hee must place his troupe of hozsemen. For I knowe not by what hid or secrete waye, yea rather by some heauenlye meanes, some do fight against some better then others: and they that had ouercome stronger men, oftentimes are overcome of þ weaker. If so be that the hozsemen be not equal, þ swiftest footemen, after the maner of the olde warriours with light Tergettes, exercised to the same purpose should be ioyned wyth them, whom they did name Expeditos velites: that is to say light and nimble for skirmishes. Which being done, though there were neuer so skoute hozsemen of the ennemyes, yet cā they not be able to matche an armye so mingled and tempered. The olde Captaines inuented this remedye that they vsed to exercise certayne yonge men that ranne notablie, and did alwayes place of them betweene euery two hozsemen a footeman, with light sheldes, swardes and dartes.

¶ Of aydes or rescues which are placed behinde the battell. Chap. xvii.

But the best waye is and doth most auaille to the obtaining of the victorie, that the Captayne haue in a readines behinde the battell, the moste pyked and choise souldiours of the footemen, hozsemen, with the deputyes, rulers & Tribunes attending onely to that purpose. Some about the winges, some in the middell, that if the ennemyes

in any place do violently assault them, and striue to burste in by force, they may steppe forth sodenlye and fulfill the places, least the battell raze might be disturbed and broken: and so by shewing their manlines and courage, they might abate þ stoutenes of the ennemyes. The Lacedemonians first inuēted this waye: whom the men of Carthage haue followed: afterwarde the Romaines in all places haue obserued the same. There is no better order or placinge of a battell then this. For the forefront which is placed directlye against the ennemyes, ought onely to do this, if it be possible, eyther to driue backe the ennemye, or els to discomfite him. If it be set like a wedge small befoze and broode behinde, or spreadyng open like a payre of sheares, you must needes haue behinde the battell souldiours, more then ordinarie: of which you woulde make your battell wedgewyse, or open like the sheares: if it should be ledde in and out like a sawe, it shalbe made likewyse of the superfluous souldiours. For if you beginne to put out anye souldiour set in araye, out of his place, you shall disturbe and bzing all out of order. If anye troupe of the ennemyes departe from their companye, and beginne earnestlye to inuade eyther your winge or anye other parte, vnlesse you haue souldiours more then ordinarie, whom you maye set against those troupes: whether you take hozsemen from the battell or els footemen: whiles you wou woulde defende one part, you shall endaunger the other by dyspoyling of it so. If you haue not a sufficiente multitude or plentye enoughe of fightinge men, it is better to haue the battell lesse pitched, so that you place verie manye to serue for ayde and succour: for you must haue manye choise men about the middell part of the battell, pyked out of the wel armed footemen, of which you maye make your battaile wedgewyse, and so shortly bzeake into the armye of your ennemyes. And it is verie good to enuiron the winges of your ennemyes battell with the hozsemen aboute your winges, appointed and kepte for this purpose, whiche are furnished with lance and armour, and the light armed footemen.

F. ii.

In what

The thirde booke of Vegetius

¶ In which place the first and chiefe Captaine
ought to stande, in which the seconde, and
in which the thirde, Chap. xviij.

The Captaine which beareth the chiefest rule and auctorite, useth to stande betwene the horsemen and footemen on the righte syde. For this is the place in which all the battell is ruled, from whence is the streighte and free passage to the skirmish. And therfore doth he stand betwene both those companies, that he may both guide with wisdom and counsell, & also exhorde with his auctorite & estimation, as well the horsemen as footemen to fight. He with his horsemen which are aboute the ordinarie number, and the lighte footemen mingled with them, must compass the left winge of the ennemyes which standes against the same, & alwayes assault & presse on them beehinde their backes. The seconde Captaine is set in the middle battell of the footemen, which may staye & strengthen the same. This Captaine must haue to him the most valiant & wel armed footemen, of them that be ouerplus. Of the which eyther he himselfe maye make his battell wedgewyse, and burst the forefront of the ennemyes: or els if the ennemyes shall make theirs wedgewyse, he may make his battell open like the sheares, that he maye meete & encounter with the ennemyes wedge. In the lefte syde of the armye the third Captaine ought to be very valiant in armes, wysse and circumspect: because the left syde is more in danger, & as it were standes in the battaile maymed and weake. Therefore he must haue aboute him good horsemen, whiche are aboute the ordinarie number, & the most nimble footemen, by the which he maye alway enlarge the lefte winge, least it should be compassed about of the ennemyes. But the shoute or crye (which they do call Barrithum) muste not be rayled vpon before that both the battelles be ioyned. For it is the pointe of such as be vnskillfull, and cowards to crye aloude a great waye of, when as the ennemyes are made more afrayde, if with the dint of weapons come together the hedious shoute and crye.

But

of feates of warre

Folio. 43.

But you must alwayes caste and studie to set your battaile in arraye before your ennemyes: because you maye at your owne wil and pleasure do that, which you thincke to be fitte and profitable vnto your selfe, when no man doth let or withstande: by this meanes also you shall more encourage and boulden your souldiours, and discourage your ennemyes.

For they are moste couragious, whiche dare prouoke and chalenge their ennemyes. And the ennemyes do beginne to feare, when they see the battell set in order and arraye: and this commonlye also cometh hereof, that you beinge now set in order and well prepared, maye preuente and assaulte your ennemyes, ordering themselves & tremblinge for feare. For it is one part of the victorie to disturbe the ennemye before you fight.

¶ With what meanes the ballantnes and deceptes
of the ennemyes in the battell, maye be with-
stande and preuented. Chap. xix.

Besides the priue onlettes & sodaine inuasions by oportunitie, which the Captaine of an army doth neuer omit: sometime it is good to set vpon the ennemyes, when they are wearied with long iourneyes, dispersed through passing ouer of ryuers, letted with fennes or marishes, trauaillinge in the toppes of mountaynes, scattered in the plaine fieldes, and sleaping quietlye in their abyding places. For when the ennemye is hindred or troubled with other busines, he maye be slaine before that he can prepare himselfe. Also be that he aduersaryes be ware and circumspect, and that there is no oportunitie of lying in waite: then with like choise and advantage, we must fight hande to hand with our ennemyes, which knowe and see all as well as wee. For this cause the skill and knowledge of warre doth no lesse helpe them that be instructed, in this open fight, then in the priue deceiptes and lyinge in waite. But aboute all thinges you muste take heede, least vpon the left winge (whiche more commonlye doth chaunce) or els on the righte (whiche happeneth verye

F. lii.

sel dome)

seldome) your souldiours be compassed aboute of the multitude of the ennemyes, of troupes of horsemen, rousing abroad whom they call Grumos. Which thinge if it shall chaunce, one helpe and remedye is: that you turne your winge (as it were the insyde outward) and make it rounde, because that they being turned, may defend the backes of their fellows. But in that corner where most perill and daunger is, muste be placed the moste valiante men: for there the greater violence and byrte is wont to be. Likewise against the araye of the ennemyes comming wedgewyse, you may resist with certaine and ordinarie meanes. Cuneus, is called a companye of footemen, which ioyned with the forebattell goeth in like order small before & broad behind, and so doth invade and breake the arayes of the aduersaries: for so muche as dartes be caste of a great manye into one place. The whiche thinge the souldiours do name Caput Porcinum, the swynes heade: against the whiche that order and raye is appointed, which is called Forfex, opening like a payre of sheares. For this battell is made of wel chosen souldiours, set thicke together, in forme and likenes of the letter V: and doth receyue the wedge or sharpe battell of the ennemyes: and encloseth it on both sydes, which being done, it cannot pearce throughe the forebattell. Also Serra, is called a companye which beinge appointed of the stoute and valiant souldiours fighteth in battaile, sometime marchinge forward, sometime recoplinge as a sawe goeth when it is drawen, and is placed before the forefront directly against their ennemyes, that the forebattell disordered, may be brought into araye againe. But Globus is called a companye of men of warre, which beinge separte from their owne battell, doth invade the ennemyes with an uncertaine and sodaine comming upon them: against the which is sent another globe or troupe of horsemen, of a greater number of people & more valiante. You must also marke wel that a litle before the time, wherein the battell is ioyned, in no wyse you do alter your rayes, or remoue anye companyes from their owne places unto others. For straight wayes doth yse disorde and confusion of

of all thinges, and the ennemye doth soner set bypon them beinge vnprepared and altogethe disordered.

How many kindes of wayes an open or set battell is ioyned, and howe also that armye which is lesse in number and strength, maye obtayne the victorie.

Chap. xx.

There be seven kindes of open fighting, when the banners displayed in defiance on both partes, do ioyne together in fight. One kinde of fight is with a long forefront, and a foure cornered armye: as now a dayes alwayes almost they vse to fight: but this kinde of fight, they that be skilfull and expert in armes, do not iudge to be best: because that when the battell is stretched forth in lengthe, an even plaine ground is not alwayes in the waye nigh hand and ready, and if sometime there be anye emptye or hollowe place, or bowing or crouking in the middle part, in that part oftentimes the foreranke is broken. Whereouer if the ennemye do passe you in multitude, hee doth compass epyther the righte or the lefte winge on the sydes: in the which there is great daunger, except you haue aboute your ordinarie number, which maye staye and put backe the ennemye. He onely ought to ioyne battell after this sort, which hath both more in number, and more valiant fighting men: that he maye compass his ennemye of both the winges, and enclose him as it were within his owne armye. The seconde kinde of fighte is common, which is better then anye other. In which if you wyll appointe a fewe stoute and couragious men in a place conueniente, although you be troubled with multitude and manhoode of your ennemyes: yet maye you easely winne the victorie. The maner of this fight is that when the battelles set in araye do ioyne together, then shall you separte the lefte winge a good waye of, from the righte winge of your aduersarye, that no dartes or arrowes maye come as farre as it.

f.iiii.

But

But you shall ioyne your right wing to his left wing: and there first beginne you the battaile: so that you do assaulte & compasse about the left syde of it, to þ which you shall ioyne your selfe, with the best footemen and most tryed horsemen: and that you maye come to the backes of the ennemyes, by thrusting them out of place and ouerrunning them. If so be that you once beginne to make your ennemyes to recoil: and geue backe frō thence: if your owne men do come on wth all, you shal obtaine most certaine victoꝝpe: and that part of your armye which you remoued frō your ennemye, shal remaine in safety. But in this kinde of fighting the battel is ordered after the similitude of þ letter A. oꝝ els the Carpenters squyre. If so be þ the aduersary do the same before you: you shal gather together vnto your left wing, þ extraordinary souldiours, as well horsemen as footemen: which before I sayde must be set behinde the battaile: and so shall you withstand your aduersarye with greac foꝝce & strength, that you be not dꝝiuen backe with crafte and pollicye. The thirde kind of fight is like vnto the seconde, but in this point it is the woꝝser: because you beginne with your left wing, to fight with your ennemyes right wing. Foꝝ the inuasion is very weake, & they that fight in the left wing with much difficultye do assault their ennemyes openlye. The which I will moꝝe plainely declare. If you shall at anye time haue your left wing a good deale the stronger, then ioyne together the most valiant horsemen and footemen: and in þ conflict bend þ same first to the right wing of the ennemyes, and as much as is possible, make hast to dꝝiue backe and compasse the right syde of your aduersarye. But seperate the other parte of your armye in which you knowe that you haue the woꝝst fighting men, a good waye of from his left wing, that it maye not be inuaded with swordes, oꝝ that the dartes come vnto it. In this kinde of fight you must take heede least your crosse battel be beaten thꝝoughe wth the weꝝge oꝝ sharpe battell of your ennemyes. But by this way in one case ye shal fight profitablye, if your aduersaryes righte wing be weaker, and your lefte wing a great deale the stronger. The

fourth

fourth kinde of fight is such: when as you haue set your battell in arraye, foure oꝝ fyue hundred paces before they come to the ennemye, sodenly when he lookes foꝝ no suche thinge, you must couragiouslye set foꝝward both your winges: that you maye on both his winges put the ennemye to flight, and so soner attaine þ victoꝝpe. But this kinde of fight although it do quicklye ouercome, if it shall set foꝝth verye expert and valiant souldiours, yet it is full of daunger, because hee that fighteth in such wyse is constrained to leaue his middle battaile naked, and to deuide his armye into two partes. And if the ennemye be not ouercome at the first bꝝunte, he hath afterwarde occasion, whereby he may both set vpon the winges deuided, and the middle battel also left withoute ayde & succour. The fiftte kinde of fight is like to the fourth. But it hath this one thinge moꝝe, foꝝ because it doth set lighte armed men and archers before the first battell: that they may resist the inuasion of ennemyes, and let them foꝝ breaking in: foꝝ so doth hee set vpon the left wing of the ennemye wꝝth his right wing, and with his owne left wing the right wing of the ennemye. If so be that he canne put the ennemyes to flight, he doth straight way winne the fiede: if not, the middle battaile is in no leopardie, because it is defended of the light armed men and archers. The sixt kinde of fight is the best of all, and in a maner like the second: which they do vse that dispayre oꝝ mistrust of the number of theyꝝ owne souldiours, and also of their manhoode. And if they do sette them well in araye and good order, although it be with a small number, they do alwayes get the victoꝝpe. Foꝝ when as the battell set in araye doth appoche and come to the ennemyes, ioyne you your righte wing vnto the lefte wing of the ennemyes, and with the most tryed horsemen and swiftest footemen, there begin to fight. But remoue and take awaye the other syde of the armye, a great waye from the right syde of your ennemye, and stretch it out a length as it were a spitte oꝝ a darte. Foꝝ if you shall beginne to beate the lefte part of his armye, both of the sydes and behinde, without doubt you shal put them to flighte. But that aduersarye cannot succour

his

his y^e be in daunger, neither with his right winge, nor wth his middle battell: because your battell is stretched forth & reacheth it selfe al in length, after the fashioⁿ & similitude of the letter .I. & goeth a great way of frō the enemyes: wth the which kinde many times they bicker in their vyages. The .7. kinde of fight is, which throug^h y^e helpe & benefit of the place, doth helpe him y^e doth fight. In this kinde also you may withstand & match wth your aduersary, both wth a small number, & also with lesse valiant souldiours, if you haue on one syde an hill, or y^e sea, or a ryuer, or a lake, or a Citte, or fennes, or rockes & steepe downe places: by y^e which the enemyes cannot come vnto, & set y^e residue of your armie in straight battell raze. But in y^e winge which hath no defence, you must set al your horsemen & Gunners. Then with more safetie you shal encounter wth the enemye, after your owne will & pleasure: because of one part y^e nature of the place doth defende you, of y^e other part almost a double strength of horsemen is set. Notwithstanding this thing ought to be obserued, which is most necessary: y^e whether you would fight, your right winge wth his left wing, there set the valiant men: or whether your left with his right wing, there place y^e stoutest men: or whether you would make a wedge or sharpe battell in the midst, by the which you might breake y^e battell raze of your enemies: in the same wedge you must ordaine & set the most experte & cunning souldiours. For the victory is wont to be atchieued by a few. The matter doth altogether rest in this, that by a wyse and discrete Captaine, chosen men be set in those places, which by skill are thought most fit and commodious.

¶ That a waye should be geuen to the enemyes to depart, that they may more easely be destroyed in flyinge awaye. Chap. xxi.

MAnye men being ignorant of the feates of warre, do thincke they maye haue a greater victorie if they can compasse the aduersaries eyther wth straitnes of places, or wth multitude of armed men: y^e they can finde no way to depart or flie away. But they which are so enclosed be more encouraged & boldned throug^h desperatioⁿ: & when ther is no hope

hope at al, feare doth constrain them to fighte. We doth couet willingly to die wth company, which knoweth most certenly y^e be must needes dye. Therfore is the saying of Scipio comended, which sayd, y^e the way wherby the enemyes might flie shold not be fortifyed. For if a passage to depart awaye once opened, as sone as y^e minds of al do agre to rūne away: they are slaine & murdered like beasts, neither is there any daunger to them y^e pursue, when as they y^e be overcome haue turned their weapons into flighte, with the which they mighte haue bene defended. After this sort y^e greater y^e an armie is, so much more easy a great number is ouerthrowe, for there is no nōber to be required, wher the hart of y^e souldiers once soe afrayed & discouraged, doth not so much couet to shun y^e weapons of the enemyes, as their faces. But being enclosed, though few in nōber, & weake in power: yet in this same point they be equal to their enemyes, for as much as being in despayre, they know that they hopinge for no escape, muste needes fight. For this only hope haue they y^e be desperate, to loke for no safetie or life at all.

¶ After what maner ye may depart frō the enemye, if you do not like of your purposed battell. Chap. xxii.

Al thinges beinge orderly declared & made plaine, which the trade of warre hath by experience & knowledge obserued: one thing remaineth to declare, after what maner we may retyre frō the enemyes. For they y^e be expert in the knowledge of warre & in examples, do testifie, y^e no where any greater daunger doth appeare. For he y^e befoze the ioyninge together doth recople, doth both take awaye good hope frō his owne armie, & doth encourage and bolden the enemyes. But forasmuch as this thing doth of necessity happen oftentimes, we must declare by what meanes the same may be done safely. First of all that your owne men do not knowe that therfore you departe, because you shunne to ioyne battell: but y^e they may be brought in belceue that they be called backe by some pollicie, for this intente y^e the enemyes may be allured vnto a more couenient place, y^e may

may be the more easelye vanquished: or els if the ennemyes should pursue after them, priue waytes might be layed the better. For it must needes be that they wil be ready to flye, which perceyue they owne Captaine to despayre. This also is to be auoyded, that the ennemyes in no wyle perceyue of your departure away, and so forthwith runne hastelye vppon you. Therefore manye haue set their horsemen before their footemen: to the ende that they running to and fro, shoulde not suffer the ennemyes to see when the footemen departed. Also they withdrew euer y rancke or batteile particularly, beginninge at the first and called them backewarde. The other remayninge still in their order and place: which afterwards by little and little recouling, they ioyned vnto them which they had withdrawen. First after the wayes were searched, some did retyre with the armye by night: to thinke that whē the daye came, the ennemyes could not ouertake them that went before. Moreover the lighte harnessed men were sente before to the hilles, by the which the armye might sodainlye be called againe withoute daunger: and if the ennemyes woulde followe on, they were discomfited of the light harnessed men, which gotte the place before them, with y horsemen also ioyned to them. For nothing is thought more daungerous, then if they whiche lye in the ambushe should meete them that pursue them, vnadvisedly or before they haue prepared themselves. This is the time wherin ambushmentes or trappes conuenientlye are layed, because there is greater boldnes and lesse care against them that are in flying. For of necessity, of greater securitye and lesse carefulnes ensueth greater perill and daunger. Ennemies are wont to come sodainlye vppon such as are vnprepared, or takinge their meate, weaue in the y iourne, feedinge their horses, and suspectinge no suche thing at all. Which thinge both we our selues must aboyde, and in such maner of occasions we must annoye our ennemye. For neyther manhoode, nor yet the number of men can helpe suche as be oppressed by such a chaunce: for as muche as he that in battaile is ouertaken in open fight, although pollicy and cunning doth there

auayle

auayle verye muche, yet he may accuse or alledge ill fortune for his defence: but he that hath fallē into sodaine comming on of the ennemyes, and they ambushes layed for them: can alledge nothinge to excuse his falte: because he mighte haue auoyded it, and knowen before by scoutes and spyes meete for the purpose. Whensoever any armye or companye doth retyre, this subtiltye is commonlye used. A fewe horsemen do followe after with a straight iourney: a stronge power is secretlye sent by other places or wayes: as sone as the horsemen come to the ennemyes, they trye and assay lightly what they can do and so depart. The ennemye thinketh straight y whatsoeuer lying in wayte had beene, that is gone and past, and so waxeth carelesse & negligent. Then that power which was appointed by a secreete waye, comminge on them suddenlye, doth oppresse them at vnwares. Manye when they departe awaye from the ennemye, if they goe throughe anye woodes, do puenent and take rockes or straight places: least their ennemyes shoulde there lye in wayte for them. And againe they stoppe the waye behinde theym with trees cutte downe, which they call Compedes, that is to saye fetters or gyues, to the entente they maye let their ennemyes in pursuing them: and in such wayes there is occasion for both the parties, as well the one as the other to lye in waite. For he that goeth before, doth leaue ambushmentes as it were behinde him in valleys meete for the purpose, or mountaynes full of woodes, into the which when the ennemyes shal fall, he returneth quickly and helpeth his owne companye. But he that followeth by backe wayes, doth sende light harnessed men a good waye before: and gettinge before, doth kepe his ennemye from passing ouer, to the ende that he may enclose him beinge deceyued both behinde and before. And as wel he that goeth before maye returne backe, as also he that followeth (thoughe it be farre of) may sodainlye come vppon them that are a sleape in the night, by some deceipte or pollicy. In the passinge ouer of ryuers, he that goeth before, doth assaye to oppresse that part which is sent before to passe ouer, whyles the residue are scattered in the ryuer. But he that

that followeth in hast, doth trouble those þ̄ coulde not passe ouer before.

¶ Of Camelles and men of armes vpon barbed horses. Chap. xxiii.

SOME Nations haue bled in times paste, to bringe forth Camelles in the forebattell: as the people called Vrciliani, in Affricke & they that be called Macetes, at this daye do bringe forth the same. But this kinde of beastes: being apt for sandye and drye places, and to abyde thirst, is reported to go þ̄ streight wayes without wāding, yea though they be troubled with dust through the wynde. But sauinge for the strangenesse, if it be put awaye from the thinges that it hath bene accustomed with, it is of no force in the warre. The barbed horsemen for the munitiō of armour which they beare, are in deede safe from woundes. But for the hinderance and waightines of armour, it is an easie thing to take them: and many times they be in danger to giuies and snarres: they be better against footemen scattered abroad then against horsemen in fight: neuer the lesse being set eyther before the Legions, or els ioyned with the Legionaries, what time as they ioyne together in fight, that is to saye, hande to hande: oftentimes they breake and inuade the forebattell of the ennemyes.

¶ After what maner we may withstande Chariottes armed with hookes, and also Elephantes in the battell. Chap. xxiiii.

KINGE Antiochus and kinge Michridates, had Chariottes in the warre armed with hookes. Which as at the first broughte greate feare in the battell, so afterward they were laught to scoone: for the armed Chariottes doth hardlye finde a plaine and even felde at all tymes: and with a small let it is holden backe, & one horse beinge vexed or wounded, it is disappointed. But these things haue perished and

and decayed, chieflye through the pollicie of the Romaine souldiours. After they came to fight, the Romaines sodenly thorow out the fieldes did cast caltropes: on þ̄ which when as þ̄ Chariottes fell in their running, they were destroyed: this same Tribulus or caltroppe is, an instrumēt of defence fastened together w̄ .iiii. yron pinnes: þ̄ which whatsoener waye you will cast it, doth stande with thre corners or prickes, and with the fourth standing vp right is verie dangerous. The Elephantes by reason of þ̄ greatnes of theyr bodies, the fearefulnes of theyr cry or braying, the strangenes of their forme and shape, do trouble both men & horses in the battayles. Kinge Pyrrhus brought these first against the Romaines in Lucania. Afterward Hanniball in Affricke, kinge Antiochus in the East parte, Iugurtha in Numidia, had many of them, against the which they inuented sondrye kinds of armour and weapons to withstand them. For a certaine Centurion in Lucania, w̄ a sworde cut awaye frō one of them þ̄ hand or long snoute (which they call Promistide) and two barbed horses were ioyned to the Chariottes: vpon whom such as were called Chibanarij sitting, did directe against the Elephantes longe speares called Sarissas, that is to say, the longest poles they could get: for beinge fenced with yron armour, neither were they hurt of the Archers (which the beastes did carrie) & they shunned the violence of the Elephantes through the swiftnes of the horses. Some other haue sent out against the Elephants, souldiours in complet armour: so that in their armes and helmettes or shouldres, were sette great sharpe prickes of yron, lest the Elephant with his hande or longe snoute, maye laye holde of the man that came to fighte against him. Yet the olde men of warre chieflye appointed lighte harnessed men called Velites against the Elephantes. Velites, were yonge men w̄th lighte armoure, of a lustye and liuely bodye, whiche shotte and cast dartes verie well on horsebacke. These when they ranne besydes the Elephantes, w̄th broade speares and greater Dartes, then they were wonte, killed the beastes: but when hardines and boldnes grewe, afterwarde

manye

manye souldiours together cast al at once their dartes, that is to saie, they shotte against the Elephantes & so wounded them. Yet this also they vsed, to do, y slingers w slingstones & round stones leuelled out of their slinges, did ouerthrow, and kill the men of Inde which ruled the Elephantes with y towers also: and there was no safer waye to destroye them inuented then this. Moreover the souldiours made rouble for the comminge of the beastes, where they mighte breake into the battell: whiche when as they came so farre as the middell of the hoast, the troupes of armed men compassed them about on euery syde, and toke both the beast and their rulers not hurte nor wounded. It is verie good also to set certaine field peeces behinde the forebattell of a greater bignes, then the residue layed vpon cartes wth two horses or Mules, for suche do shoothe leuell their pellets farther and w greater violence: and when the Elephantes come within y reach of the darte, the beastes are stricken through with the shotte of the Gunners. Notwithstanding the yron is thrust harder and more surely into them, because in great bodies are made greater woundes. We haue reherseed manye examples and engines against the Elephantes, to the intente that if at anye time necessitie shall requyre, it maye be known what defence may be had agaynst so huge and terrible beastes.

¶ What ought to be done if either part, or the whole armie doth flye. Chap. xxv.

Ve must knowe, if one parte of the armie hath overcome, & another doth flye, we should not yet dispayre: when as in such an extremitie y constancy of the Captayne maye get the whole victorie to himselfe. This thing hath happened in very manye warres: and such haue bene accounted to haue the vpperhande, as haue not dispayred. For in such like case, he is thought to be more balliunt, who aduerselye doth not discourage. Therefore let him first take the spoiles of the enemyes slaine, and as they do terme it, let him

let him gather the field, let him first reioyce and triumph w ashoute and the trumpettes. By this boldnes and confidence he shall make the enemyes afrayde: so shall he encrease the courage of his owne men, and go away as though he were a conquerour. If so be that by any chaunce all the armie be discomfited in the battell with great losse of men, yet manye haue had good lucke in recovering and rescuing that which was lost, and therfore such remedye in the like distresse must be soughte. Therefore a wyle and circumspect Captayne, ought in open or set battell, to fight so aduisedly and warily, that if any thing should happē other wyle then wel, though mutability of warres, and mans fraile condition, he might deliuer him & his ouercome souldiours without greate losse or displeasure. For if hilles be nighe, if anye defence be behinde their backs: if, althoughe the other go away, all the most balliant stande stoutely to it, they shall saue themselves and theyrowne compaigne. Oftentimes an armie now discomfited, if it can reconer strength againe, doth slea them y pursue, disperfed & scattered abroad out of order. For they which reioyce and aduance themselves, are neuer in more daunger, then when from sodaine fiercenes & boldnes they are chaunged into sodaine feare. But what successe soeuer follow, they must be gathered together that remaine alieue, and must be encouraged with meete exhortations, and cherished & comforted by repaying of their armour. Then must there be newe choise had of freshe souldiours, and new aydes must be sought for: and then a freshe assault & inuasion must be made vpon the conquerours if occasion serue, by some priuie lying in waite: for this is verie good & profitable: and so boldnes may be recovered againe. Neyther can opportunity want at such tymes: because mens mindes are commonlye puffed vp with pride, through good lucke and prosperous successe, & then are lesse circumspect & fearefull. If any man thinke this to be y greatest misfortune y can be, let him cōsider & remember, that they comonly, which get the victory, haue the worst alwayes in the beginnunge of the battell.

Generall rules of warres. Chap. xxvi.

G. i.

In all

In all maner of battelles, the state or condition of the setting forth is suche, that whatsoeuer is profitable to you, is hurtfull vnto the aduersarye: that whiche doth helpe him, is alwayes hurtfull vnto you. Therefore wee neuer ought to do or dissemble anye thinge after his will and pleasure: but to do that only which we iudge to be profitable vnto our selues: for you do against your selfe, if you followe that which he hath done for him selfe. Againe, whatsoeuer you haue attempted for your selfe, it will be hurtfull to him if he minde to imitate it. In time of warre, he that in posting or conueyinge of his carriages is diligent: and taketh greates paynes in exercysinge his souldiours: shall incurre lesse perill and daunger. A souldiour must neuer be broughte forth into the battell, before you trye and proue what he can doe. It is better to subdue the ennemye throughe scarcitee and lacke of necessary thinges, by sodaine inuasions, by terrour and feare, then wyth open battell: In which fortune comonlye beareth more swaye, then manhoode and prowesse. No counsailes are better then those, which the ennemye knoweth not before you accomplishe them.

Occasion and oportunitie is commonly more profitable in warre, then valiantnes.

It is very good to entice & receiue suche as flye from their Captaynes, if they do it faythfullie and dissemble not: because suche as forsake their owne Captaynes, and go to the contrarie partes, do discourage the aduersarye more then they that be slaine.

It is better to kepe some in readines behind that forebattelles for succours, then to haue that souldiours scattered abroade.

He is hardly overcome, which can truly iudge of his owne power, and also of his ennemyes power.

Manhoode doth more auaille then multitude of men.

The oportunitie of place doth oftentimes profite more then manhoode.

Nature bringeth forth fewe valiaunte men, but diligence doth make many by good instruction and discipline.

An armie with labour doth profite and proceede, with idleness it doth decaye.

Neuer

Neuer bringe forth a souldiour into the fildes, excepte thou perceiue that he hoopeth for the victorie.

Sodaine thinges do make ennemyes afrayde, thinges common and stale are nothing set by.

He that rashlye pursueth the ennemyes when his owne men are oute of araye, will soone geue to the ennemye that victorie which he had gotten.

He that doth not prepare graine and other necessaryes, is overcome without any dent of sword.

He that hath more store of men & also more valiant, let him fight with the forefront fouresquare: which is the first way of settinge an armie in araye before described.

He that thinketh himselfe vnequally matched with his ennemye, let him with his righte winge driue backe the left wing of the ennemye: which is the second waye.

He that knoweth himselfe to haue his left winge, the strongest and best furnished: let him set vpon the righte winge of the ennemye: which is the thirde waye.

He that hath the most expert & cunning souldiours, must set on both the wings of his ennemyes battell together: which is the fourth waye.

He that is Captaine of the lighte armed men, let him inuade both that winges of the ennemye, placing that light harnessed men which are quicke & ready, before the forefront: which is the fift waye.

He that hath not sure trust, neither in that number of his men, nor in their manhoode: if he purpose to fighte, let him driue backe the left wing of the ennemyes, with them of his right wing: the residue of his men being stretched in length after the forme of a spit or broche: which is the sixt waye.

He that knoweth himselfe to haue the fewer & weaker men after the seuenth waye, oughte to haue of one syde, either a mount, or a Cittie, or the Sea, or a riuer, or els some other succour or safegarde.

He that hath most confidence in his horsemen, let him seeke that higher places, & do his chiefe feates of armes by that horsemen.

He that hath most trust in his foote armyes: let him get that higher places for the footemen, & accomplishe his enterprise chiefly

The thirde booke of Vegetius

chiefely by them. When a spye of the enemyes doth go to and fro in y^e campe verie priuily, let euery man be commassid in the day time to resort to his pavilion, & straight waye the spyes is apprehended.

When you shall know that your counsell and purpose is heuyned to the enemyes: then you muste chaunge your intent and purpose herein.

That which chiefely ought to be brought to passe, intreat and deliberate with manye: but that which you do intende to do herein, communicate with verie fewe and those moste trustye & saythfull, or rather deliberate and consult of them wyth your owne selfe and no mo.

Punishment and feare do amende souldiours abyding in one certayne place: in a byage or iourneye, hope and rewarde do make them better.

Good Captaynes do neuer fight in open or set battell, but vpon good occasion, or very great necessitye.

It is a good deuise rather to oppresse the enemye wyth hunger and famine, then wyth the sworde.

As touchinge an armie of horsemen, there be manye rules and precepts: but seing that this part of warrefare hath profited and proceeded through vse and exercise, through the kinde of armour, and y^e worthines of horses: I suppose that nothinge is to be gathered out of bookes, when as this present instruction may be sufficient.

Let not the enemyes knowe after what maner you intende to fight, least they go about to preuent and withstand y^e same by one helpe or other.

I haue orderly declared thinges, O valiaunt and mighty Emperour, whiche being approued, diuers & sundry times, through faithfull and diligent experience, the moste worthy authours haue set forth and published: that vnto the running of shooting, which in your grace the Persian doth praisse and maruayle at: vnto the knowledge and comelines of riding of horses, whiche the people of Hungarie and Scythia, called Hunni, & Alani, would gladly imitate if they could: and to the swiftnes of running, wherein the Saracene, and

man

of feates of warre.

Fol. 51

man of Inde, can not matche with you: to the exercising of handling the weapons, & vying al kinde of artillerie, wherein the captaynes and maisters of the fiede are glad, that they knewe some good examples to followe: (vnto all these thinges I saye) a rule or trade howe to fighte in battayle, yea, rather pollicie howe to gette the victorie, muste bee annexed: that as much as you can through puillance and

marueilous good orderinge of your common

wealthe, you may shewe the office and per-

fourme the dutie, bothe of an

Emperour and a
souldiour.

(*)

¶



The fourth booke of Vegetius

The fourth booke of Flavius Vegetius

Renatus of the feates of yvarre.

The Prologue.

Building of cities was the thing that in the beginning did separate and deuide the homelye and rude lyfe of men, from the societie and companie of dumme creatures & wilde beastes. The whiche cities vpon their common vtilitie and profite haue the name of publike weales. Therefore most mightie nations and princes of famous memory haue thought there could be no greater renoume, then either to builde newe cities or els amplifying those whiche haue bene builded by others, to call them after their owne name. Wherein your maiestie doth obtayne the chiefest prayse of al other. For whereas other princes haue builded one citie a piece, or fewe moe: Your grace with continuall labour hath erected suche a nūber, that they may seeme to be builded, not so muche by mans hand, as by the will and working of God. So you excell all other Emperours in happines of estate, in temperance, in chastnes of life, in examples to be followed, and in the great loue that you beare towards learning. We see with our eyes the goodnes of your gouernemet, and also of your good minde. The whiche thinges, both they whiche haue gone before vs, did wyshe to enioye, and they whicht are yet to come, desire to continue for euer. By reason whereof we doe reioyce that so great a iewell is geuen to all the worlde, as either the minde of man could desire, or the bountiefulness of God could geue. And as for the building by and repairing of walles howe it hath gone forwarde, through the good orders deuised by your grace, the citie of Rome can shewe. Whiche by defending the tower Capitolum, hath saued the citizes liues, that afterward it might with greater glory obtayne the dominion of all the worlde. Therefore for the accomplishing of this worke, taken in hande at the commaundemen of your maiestie, I will bringe into order the deuises of sundry writers, by the whiche both our owne cities may be defended, and the cities of our enemies ouerthrowen: neither shall it forthinke me of my labour, because these thinges in time to come may be profitable to all men.



of feates of warre.

Fol. 52.

That cities ought to be fenced

either vvith handvvorke, or nature, or bothe.

The first Chapter.



Cities and castels are fenced, either by nature, or with hande, or els with both, which is rekened the stronger. By nature: as with the heighte or craggines of the place with the sea, with fennes, or with riuers. By hande, as with ditches and walles. In that

benefite and helpe of nature, the moste safetie consisteth in þ wittines and counsell of the chooser: in the playne groundes, full necessary is the diligent trauel of the builder. And we see some very auncient cities so builded in playne & open fieldes, that although the helpe of situation did faile, yet with cunning and workmanship they were made invincible.

¶ That walles should not be made streight but with many coignes. Chapter. ij.

MEn in times past drew not þ circuite of their walles streight lest they might be apt to receaue the strokes of the battering ramme. But laying the foundation they enclosed their cities with many wyndinges & turnings in and out, and in the very corners did builde many towers. For this cause, that if the enemy would set ladders or other engines vnto a wall builded after suche order, hee might be beaten downe, not onely before but also on the sides, and in a manner behinde, as enclosed in a lane or bought.

¶ After what sort earth may be heaped by and toynd to a wall, so that it shall neuer be beaten downe. Cap. iij.

A Wall which can neuer be thzotwen down is made after this maner. Make two walles on the towne side of þ ditch a good way distant a sunder, then caste betweene them that earthe whiche youe throwe out of the ditch, and beate it downe harde with beetels and weightie instrumentes: so that, that whiche is firste and nexte to the

the moste stonewall, be somewhat lower then the stonewall it selfe, and the seconde a good deale lower then the firste: that from the citie men may goe vp easely to the battlementes, as in the rising of an hil, or after the manner of steeles. A wall thus strengthened with earthe, can neuer be beaten downe with any ramme, and though the stones should chaunce to be thowen downe, yet the greate heape of earthe that is rammed betwene the walles, doth withstande them, that geue the assaulte, as well as any wall.

¶ Of portcullises, and howe gates may be safe from burning. Chapter. iij.

Moreouer, wee must take heede least the gates be burned with fier, for the whiche cause they should be couered with leather and yron. But that is more profitable whiche in the olde time hath bene inuented, that before the gate there should be a fortresse, in the entring whereof is a perculles, hanging with rynges of Iron and ropes: that if the enemies should enter in, the same being let downe, they might bee enclosed and destroyed. And the wall aboue the gate, must so be made with holes that wee maye power downe water and quenche the fier vnderneath.

¶ Of making ditches. Chapter. v.

But the ditches before the cities muste bee made berpe depe, and very broade: that they maye not easely bee made euen, and filled of the besiegers. And that the water running ouer, may stoppe the vndermining of the enemye. For twoo manner of wayes is vndermining letted, either with the depenes of the ditche, or ouerflowyng.

¶ Howe to kepe them whiche stande on the wall harmeles from the arrowes of the enemies. Chapter. vj.

It is

It is to be feared sometyme, least that many archers dying the defenders downe, maye sodenly take the wall. Therefore it shall bee good to haue in the citie complete harnis and store of shieldes. Moreouer, mantils, clokes, and heareclothes, maye bee hanged before them, and so receyue the shotte of arrowes: for the heades of the arrowes cannot easely pearse throughe that whiche yeldeth and waueth to and fro. There is also a remedy founde: to make hurdles of woode, called Metellæ, and to fille them with stones, and to set them betwene twoo battlementes so cunningly, that if the enemies should clyme by by ladders and touche any parte of them, the stones may turne vpon their heades.

¶ By what meanes it ought to be forseene that they that are besieged be not famished. Chapter. vij.

There be many kyndes of defending and assaulting of cities, whiche wee wyll speake of in places conuenient. Nowe wee must knowe that there be twoo kyndes of besieging. One when the enemy appointing his men in deuot places, doth with continuall assaultes assaile the besieged. The other, when as he kepeth them from water, or trusteth that they will yelde throughe famishment, hauing stopped all victualles from comming to them. For by this deuise hee him selfe being quiet and safe, doth wearie his enemies. Against whiche chaunces, the townes men vpon small suspicion of their enemies, ought moste diligently to place within the walles all kynde of foode, whereby man may lyue: to the intent that they them selues may haue aboundaunce, & their enemies throughe nede compelled to rayse their siege. And not onely porcke or bakon, but also al kinde of fleshe, & may be preserued close, ought to bee layde by, that throughe the helpe of fleshe graine may suffice. And pulleyn likewyse in a citie may be kepte without charge. And for suche as be sicke very necessary. Especially fodder must be gotten in for horses: and suche as can not be brought in must be burnt. Likewyse of wyne,

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of wyne vineger and al other kinde of graine, or fruite great store must be layde by, and nothing that may be profitable to the, ought to be left for the enemies. Gardens also, both for the profite and pleasure of them, ought not to be neglected, in the grasseplots and yardes of houses. But it dothe litle profite to haue gathered muche together, except from the beginning, the deliuerie or distributiō be moderated by such conuenient ouerseers, as haue charge thereof with a good & profitable measuring of the same. For they be neuer in danger of famine, whiche bled in time of plentie to kepe sobrietie and moderation in spending. Also the youth and weomen, whiche are vsitte for warre, many tymes are thurst for the food wante of vitailles, least scarcitie bypresse the souldiours, by whome the cities often haue bene defended and kepte.

¶ What kinde of thinges must be prepared
for the defence of walles.
Chapter. viij.

It is conuenient that there be prepared, to set the engines of the enemies on fire, suche thinges as are apte to burne, rospn, bymstone, cleare pitche without dregges, oyle, called Incendiarium, that is to saye, ready to set any thinge on fire. Iron of both tempers to make armour and weapōs, and coales ought to be saued in store houses, woode also for speare stauies, and arrowes, must be layde by in store. Round stones out of riuers which for their roundnes are somewhat heauy, and meete for the casters, must be gathered moste diligently: with the whiche the walles and towers should be filled. The leaste stones of all are to throwe with slinges, or slingestaues, or els with the hande, the greater stones are shotte with the gunnes. But the greatest of all, by reason of their weight & rowling fashion must be layde in fortresses, that they being throwen downe headlong vpon a soden, may not onely ouerwhelme y enemies vnderneath, but also may breake their engines. Also mightie great wheelles must be framed of greene woode, or rolwers cut of very strōg trees, whiche

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whiche they call Taler, muste be made smoothe, that they may rowle, whiche sliding downe doe ouerthrowe the souldiours with the sodayne vehemencie, and make the horses sore afraide. There must be also in readines beames & trassinges or boozdes. And nailles and pinnes of iron of diuers quantities. For suche engines of the enemies muste be hindered by other lyke, specially whē as the walles or fortresses vpon a soden shall haue neede to be made higher, least the moueable towers of the enemies should rise aboue them and so take the cite.

¶ What ought to be done if store of stringes or cordes
doe faile. Chapter. ix.

It is also expedient to gather very diligently good store of stringes or sinewes, for as muche as y ordinaunce whiche is called Onager and Balista, and other like, excepte they be bent and drawen with cordes or sinewes auayle nothing. Notwithstanding, the bigge heares of the taples or manes of horses, are thought good for the lesser artillery. But it is a thing moste certaine, and hath bene tride in the Romaines neede that weomens heares in suche kinde of ordinaunce are no lesse profitable. For in the long siege of Capitolum (the chiefe castell of the cite of Rome) their artillery being marred with the continuall and wearisome fight of the enemies, and cordes or stringes failing them, the matrones of Rome cutte their heare from their head & brought it to their husbands as they were fighting, & so repairing their engines, they braue backe the force of their enemies. For those honest and chaste weomen, rather chose with heades for a time disfigured to liue at libertie with their husbands, then with all their trimming to be subiect to their enemies. It is also good to get together hornes & rawe hides, for the couering of complet armour, and other engines and munitions.

¶ What should be done that the besseged lacke not
water. Chapter. x.

It is

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It is a greate profite and commoditie for a citie, to haue within the walles welles, and springes, euer continuing, and enduring. If so be that the nature of the place doe not serue, the must you digge pittes of what depenes soeuer you thinke good, and drawe by the water with ropes. But some tyme the places which are fenced with mountaines & rockes, are moze drie then other. In suche a case you may builde a forte at the foote of the hill, & so shal you by digging finde water. And from of the forte defende it with dartes, or other shotte appointed for the purpose, that there may bee free going and coming, for the fetching of water. If it be so that the water be without the caste of the darte, & yet in the side of an hyll vnder the citie: it is mete that a little forte (which they cal a blockehouse) be builded betwene the citie and the springe: and there to be placed ordinaunce and archers, that the water may be defended from the enemies. Moreover, in all the publike and common buyldinges of the citie, and in many private buildinges there should be cisternes moste diligently ordeined, that they may be receites for rayne water, whiche falles from the houses. For thirste doth seldome ouercome them whiche in a siege haue vsed water onely for their drinke, though it were neuer so little.

¶ If sault should faile in the citie, what ought to be done. Chapter. xj.

If the citie stande by the sea, and salte bee wantinge, take water out of the sea, and poure it into broade vessels, and by the heate of the sunne it wyll turne to salte. If so be that the enemy doe stoppe thee from the water (for that oft tymes doth chaunce) then take the sande, whiche the sea casteth vp, and washe the same with fresh water, and that water being dried, will turne likewise into salte.

¶ What should be done when the enemy doth first assaulte the walles. Chapter. xij.

¶ That

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What time as the assault is geuen to a Castell or Citie, great is the daunger on both partes, but greater is the bloudshedde of them that geue the assaulte. For they that couet to enter the walles, with terrible preparation shewe forth al theyr armie, and wpth noyse of men and trumpettes fray the towne, hoping therby to make it yelde. Then the townes men being astonied at the first bzunte (for feare disinayeth the vnercised) if they know not the experience of suche daungers quickely loose their Citie, if the ennemy set ladders to the wall. If it be so that at the first meeting the ennemy be put backe by bolde and warrelke men, streight waye the townes men were bould, and then they fight not with feare, but with courage & cunning.

¶ A rehearsall of engines with which the walles are assaulted. Chap. xij.

The engines that are set to walles are in latine called Testudines, Arietes, Falces, Vineæ, Plutei, Musculi, Turres. In Englishe, Snayles, Rammes, Hookes, Lines, desks, Wyse, Turrettes. Of which particulerlye after what maner they may be made, by what maner cunninge also they may fight or be driuen backe, I will hereafter declare.

¶ Of the battering Ramme, the hooke and the snayle Chap. xiiii.

The engine called Testudo, that is to say, the snaille is toynd together of timber and boards, which to kepe awaye fyre is couered with lether or hearclothes, or any patched clothe. This engine hath within it a beame which is headed with a croked yron called Falx, that is to say an hooke, to thende that it may drawe stones out of the walles, or els the heade of the selfe same beame is couered all with yron, and is named Aries, that is a Ramme: eyther because it hath a verpe hard forehead to cast downe the walles,

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les, or els because after þ manner of Rammes it goeth backe-ward, to the intente it maye strike with a moze hebelemente force. But Testudo, hath taken that name of the foxme & similitude of the verpe snayle in deede: because like as the snayle somtimes pluckes backe her head, sometimes putteth it forth: euen so this engine, sometime draweth the beame backe, sometime thrusteth it oute, that it maye strike with greater power.

¶ Of caddes, desks and countermure.
Chap. xv.

The engine named Vine, that is a hyne, is comparte of light woode and it is viii. foote highe, seuen foote broade, and xvi. foote longe. The coueringe of it is double with boardes and hurdles. The sydes also are hedged with roddes, least they should be pearced with violence of stoones and dartes. The out syde is couered with rawe & new hydes, or els with tyltclothes, that it be not set on fyre. A number of these are ioyned together in a rowe: vnder the which the besiegers being safe, do pearse the foundations of the walles to throw them downe. Plutei are called, which after the similitude of a compassed haute or arche, are compacted of roddes, and couered aboue with heareclothes or lether, and are moued as it were a cart, vnto what part soeuer you will, with thre little wheeles, of the which one is set in the middell and two in the heade or forepart. These do the besiegers bring to the walles: and standing vnder them, wyth arrowes, or slinges, or dartes, driue awaye the defenders from the walles, that they maye better scale the walles with ladders. But that that is called Agger, or countermure, is raysed bp of earthe and woode against the wall, from the which the dartes are throwen.

¶ Of engines called Musculi.
Chapiter. xvj.

Musculi

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Musculi be lesser engines, wyth the whiche the men of warre being couered, if mye or the ditche of the Cittye do hinder them, do not onely fill the same, but also make it harbe with stoones, woode, and earth broughte therevnto. To the ende that the moueable towers maye be ioyned to the walles without anye let or hinderance. They be called Musculi, of beastes of the Sea like vnto myse. For like as they, although they be lesser, yet the ayde and helpe þ Whales, in going befoze them for dashinge against rockes: euen so these lesser and shorter enginnes appointed to serue the greate mouable towers wyth wheeles, do prepare the way for their cōminge, and fortifye the passage befoze them.

¶ Of towers mounable. Chap. xvij.

Towers are a kinde of engines ioyned together of beames and boardes, after the similitude of buildinges. And to kepe so great a worke from fyringe by the enemyes: it is most dilligently fenced on all partes with rawe hydes or tylt clothes: for the heighte of it is proportionable to the breadth, for sometime they be xxx. foote broade by the square, sometime xl. or l. But the tallenes or height must be such, that they maye passe in height, not onely the walles, but also the towers of stone. These towers must haue many wheeles cunninglye made, by the easye rolling of the which so great a frame maye be moued. And it is present daunger to the Cittye, if the tower come once to the walles. For it hath with it a number of ladders & diuers wayes maye set men into the towne. For in the lower part it hath the Rammes, wth the violence of which it beates downe the walles. About the middle it hath a brydge made of two beames and hedged wth roddes which maye quickelye be brought forth, & set betwene the tower and the wall, & the men of warre going by þ same out of the engine passe ouer into the Cittye & take the walles. In the higher partes of the same tower, be placed pyken men and Archers, whiche from an highe maye overthrowe the defenders of the Cittye, wyth pykes arrowes and stonnes. Which beinge done, the Cittye is taken without delay.

For

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for what helpe doth remaine, when as they which do trust to the height of their walles, sodainly beholde aboute them a wall of their ennemys higher then theirs.

¶ How the mouable tower may be set on fyre.
Chap. xviii.

This euident and apparant daunger many wayes may be resisted. First if your souldiours be strong & bould, a number may issue forth together. And dyuinge awaye the ennemys, pull of the lether and set fyre on the tower. If so be they dare not issue forth, let them discharge the greater artillerie, and such as they call Malleoli & Phalaricæ, with fyre shotte, that rentinge the hides or tyllclothes a soder the flame maye be hidde inwardlye. Malleoli be as it were, arrowes which burne all where they light. But Phalarica after the maner of a Jauelin hath a stronge heade of yron, and betweene the hollownes of pype thereof and the staffe, it is wrapped rounde aboute wyth brimstone, rosen, pitche & towse soaked in oyle apt to burne, the which beinge discharged leuell with the violence of your artillerie, breaketh the cowering, and stickinge in the woode oftentimes burneth the whole turret. Also you maye let downe men wyth roopes when your ennemys be a fleape, & wyth lanternes priuillie hidde, burne their engines, and then pull them vp againe.

¶ How you maye make your walles higher.
Chap. xix.

That part of the wall to which the engine cometh, maye be made higher either wyth mortar and stones, or wyth claye or brycke, or wyth hardes and planks, and so shall not the defenders be oppressed wyth the height of the turret. And the turret beinge to lowe shall serue to no vse. But they that besiege townes, vse oftentimes this policie. First they build such a tower as maye seeme lower then the walles of the Citty: after ward they make another litle tower within of bourdes and planks, and when the tower is ioyued to the walles sodainlye they putte forth the litle

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litle turret with roopes and pullyes, oute of the which the armed men goinge forth, because it is higher then the walles straight waye take the Citty.

¶ By what meane the earth maye be digged, that the engine can do no harme.
Chap. xx.

Sometime they do set longe beames headed wyth yron against the comminge of the engine, and so keepe of the same from the wall. But when as the Citty of Rhodes was besieged by ennemys, and they had made a tower wyth wheelles aboute the height of all the walles and towers, this remedye was inuented by the witte of a certaine craftes man: in the night he vndermined the wall, and that place to the which the daye after the tower shoulde be removed, he made hollowe within casting, out the earth, none of the ennemys perceyuing it: so that when that great frame was dyuen and forced forward with the wheelles, and came to the place whiche vnderneath was made hollowe before, straight waye it soncke, the grounde yeldinge to so greate a weight, so that it coulde not come neare the walles nor be moved anye further, and by this meane the Citty was delpyered and the engine left behinde.

¶ Of ladders and the frame of tymber wyth roopes, of the hydge, and of the sweape.
Chap. xxj.

Vhen the tower comes to the wall by all meanes possible they dyue the enemye from the wall, with stones, dartes, arrowes, pelletes & such like. This beinge done, and ladders set to the wall, they take the Citty. But they which do scale the walles with ladders, manye times sustaine perill and daunger after the example of Campanus: by whom this manner of assaulte with ladders is sayde to be first inuented, who was slaine with so greate violence

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hence by the Thebanes, that he was thought to be destroyed with thunder. And therfore the besiegers do enter the walles of the ennemies with these engines called Sambuca, Exostrea and Tolleno, that is to saye, a frame of timber & roopes, a brydge, and a sweape. Sambuca is called after the similitude of an harpe: for like as in a harpe there be stringes, so in the beame which is nexte the towers, be roopes which do loose and set at lybertye the brydge wyth pullyes, from the upper part, that it may go vppon the wall: and straight way the men of warre issue out of the tower, and goinge ouer vppon it, do inuade the walles of the Citty. Exostrea is that brydge which we spake of before, which sodainly is stretched forth of the tower vnto the wall. Tolleno is this, when a beame is set fast and deepe vppon the earth, vppon the which in the highest toppes, another beame is ioyned ouerthwart, longer by the one halfe in measure so equallye, that when you pull downe the one ende, the other ryleth vppe. In the one ende of this wyth hurdles and boardes, is made roome for a few men to stand in. Then pulling the one ende downe with roopes, ye lifte vppe the other ende, & so set your men vppon the walles.

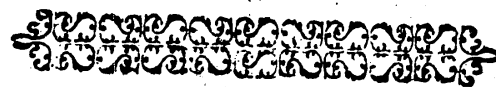
¶ Of the lesser kinde of Ordnance called Balista. Of the greater named Onager, of that which is called Scorpio, of Crossebowes called Arcubalistæ, of slingstaues and slinges, by the which the wall is defended. Chap. xxij.

Against these incōmodities such kindes of ordinaunce defende them that be besieged, Balista, a lesser kinde of ordinaunce, Onager a greater, also that which is called Scorpio, Arcubalistæ, Crossebowes, Fustibali, slingstaues, archers and slinges. Balista is a kinde of Ordnance bent with roapes or cordes, the which the longer and greater that it is, so muche the further it casteth the shot, and this kinde of ordinaunce if it be cunninglye framed, and afterwarde discharged by skilfull men that know the reach and

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and compasse of it, doth pearce throughe whatsoever it stryket. That which is named Onager, serueth to shoote stoones withall: and because the roopes of it are greete, therfore the stoness are mightye that it casteth. For the greater and larger the engine is, so much the greater stoness it hurleth in maner of thunder. There is no kinde of ordinaunce more violent then these two sortes. Scorpiones were called in the olde time such as now we terme Manubalistæ, so named because that with small arrowes they kill men. I thinke it superfluous to declare Fustibalistas, Arcubalistæ & Fundas, which experience at this present knoweth wel enoughe. The ordinaunce that I named Onager, if it shoote mightye stoones, doth not onely ouerthrow hoysmen and footemen, but also breaketh the engines of the ennemyes in sonder.



¶ Against the engine named a Ramme, be stockebeddes or mattresses very good, also roopes and great pillers. Chapter .xxij.

Against the battering Rammes or hooks, ther be manye helpes and remedies, for some with cordes lette downe their tiltclothes and other patched geare, and mattresses, and so let them hange in such places as the ramme doth beate, that the violence and force of the engine may be broken with the softnes of these, and not throwe downe the wall. Some others with a number of men, do from the wall catch the Ramme wyth roopes, and drawing it a syde ouerthrowe it: Manye vse to tye vnto roopes a peece of yron muche like vnto a payre of sheeres full of teethe, which they call Lupum, and so eyther they do ouerthrowe the Ramme caughte with the same, or els lifte it vppe, that it hath no force to stryke. Sometime they throwe downe huge stoness of marble, or other of like hardnes from the walles, and all to breake the Rammes.

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If the force of þ Ramme shalbe so greate, that it shall beate throughe the wall and cast it downe (as oftentimes it chaſteth,) then is there none other helpe but to pull downe your houses, and make another wall within, & so betwene two walles to slea your ennemys, if they breake in.

¶ Of vndermining and throwing downe walles that waye. Chap. .xxiii.

Ther is another kinde of assault, that is vnder þ earth and priuie, which is called vndermininge. The manner of it is this, a number of pyoners digge in the earth as myners do, and makinge a trenche, by that meanes seeke to destroy the Cittye. The which by two wayes they bring to passe. For eyther they do enter the Cittye, and by nighte when the townes men are not ware of it, do issue oute of their trenche, and vnlockinge the gates let in theyr owne armye, and slea the ennemys in their houses at vnwares: or els whē they come to the foundations of the wall, they digge vnder a great part of it, and with dye timber vnder set it, that for a whyle it maye not fall, afterwarde they laye manye fagottes and suche lyke dye fuell about it, and hauinge placed theyr souldiours in araye, they set fyre to it, so that the pillers of woode and boardes being burnt, and the wall there with falling sodainly, they haue a way layed open for them to burst in at.

¶ What the townes men oughe to do, if the ennemys burst into the Cittye.

Chap. .xxv.

It is manifest by infinite examples, that they which haue entered theyr ennemys Cittye oftentimes haue bene so slaine, that not one hath escaped. Which thinge withoute doubt doth come to passe, if the townes men do keepe their walles and towers, or take first the highest places.

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For then suche as be of age, both men and women, do ouerwhelme with stones and other kindes of weapons, suche as do breake in: the which to auoyde, wyse Captaynes set open the gates of the Cittye: to thintent that hauing leaue to departe, they maye not resist. For desperation in such a case, is a necessarie enforcement to manhoode.

The townes men haue onely this helpe, whether the ennemys enter by day or by night, to holde and keepe their walles and towers, and to clyme vpp to the highest places, and so to ouerthrowe theyr ennemys on euerye syde, in all the streetes of the Cittye.

¶ What heede oughte to be taken, least the ennemys priuily take the wall.

Chap. .xxvj.

Manye times þ besiegers do inuent some guile or craft, and by a counterfette desperation depart a good way of. But when as, after seate is past, the vnheedefull and carelesse townes men haue taken rest, watch of the walles being geuen ouer, the ennemys come priuily with ladders, takinge occasion of the darckenes of the nighte, and so clyme the walles. For which cause a greater and more diligent heede muste be had, when as the ennemye is gone awaye: and in the verie walles and towers, ought small cabins to be made, in which the watche men in winter season may be defended from howers and colde, and in Sommer from the heate of the Sunne. This thinge also experience hath founde that in the towers is good to keepe fierce dogges and quicke of smellinge, whiche can perceyue the cominge of the ennemye by the sente, and geue warning thereof by barking.

Also geese by like skil of nature declare by their cryngs, the sodaine inuasions of the ennemys by night. For the French men enteringe into the chiefe Tower or Pallace of Rome (called Capitolum) had for euer blotted out the name of the Romaynes, had not Manlius told them beinge raysed

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by the crying of geese. And by the meanes of one goose they were saued, which afterward subdued the whole world.

¶ How the townes men maye be deceyued. Chap. xxvii.

A Boue all thinges it is counted the greatestt matter, not onely in sieges, but euen in all kindes of warre, to spye out and knowe diligently the custome and vse of the ennemye. For you cannot conuenientlye by layinge wayte for them deceiue them, excepte you knowe at what houres they cease from theyr labour, and at what time they be lesse cōsumpct, whether at none or towardes euen or in the night, or at such times as they eate their meate, when as y^e souldiours of both sydes are disperſed to take their rest, and to refreſhe their bodies. Whiche thinge when the besiegers perceiue, subtillye they withdraue themselves from battell, that they maye geue free libertye to the ennemye to be verie negligent. Which negligence what time as it shal be greatestt, for that they feare nothinge, then the besiegers shall sodenlye bringe their engines and ladders to the walles, and take the Cittye. Therefore in the walles the townes men ought to haue stones and ordinaunce in a readines, to thende that as sone as the deceipte is knowne, they maye resist and haue at hande such thinges as they maye roule, and cast vpon the heades of their ennemyes.

¶ What the besiegers oughte to do that they be not entrapped of the townes men.
Chap. xxviii.

If the besiegers likewyse be negligent, they are as sone caught by deceipt as the other, for whether they be occupied at meate, or sleape, or els scattered a sonder throughe idlenes or anye other necessitie: then the townes men sodenlye rushe forth, they slea them ere they be aware. sette on fire their enginnes, rammes, and the verie countermurs, and ouer-

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uerthrowe all the workes that were made against them. For this cause the besiegers do make a trench, a stones cast of, and so furnishe the same, not only with a pale and stakes, but also with turrettes and fortresses, that they maye easelye withstande them that issue forth of the Cittye, which worke they call Loriculam, and oftentimes when a siege is described in anye historye, yee shall reade that this or that towne was compassed rounde aboute with this pale worke called Loricula.

¶ With what kinde of ordinaunce Cittyes maye be defended. Chap. xxix.

A kinde of shot, either pellets of leade, or Traelines, shot dartes, or longer dartes, the higher that they come downe, so much more violentlye they fall vpon those that be vnder them. Arrowes, also shotte with bowes and stones throwne with hands, slinges or sling staues, from how much the higher place they be cast, so much the deeper do they pearce. But Balistæ and Onagri, two kindes of ordinaunce if they be warelye discharged by such as be skilful and cunning, they do cutte in sonder euery thing they meete with, and against this kinde of ordinaunce can nothinge be a sufficient defence. For whatsoeuer it strikes in maner of thunder it vndoeth it & goeth throughe it.

¶ Howe yee maye knowe what heyghe your ladders and other enginnes ought to be of.
Chap. xxx.

Ladders and other enginnes do verie muche auayle for the takinge of towne walles, if they be made of such heyghte that they ouer reache the towne.

The heyghte of the towne yee maye take two maner of wayes, for eyther maye you tye a slender line to the one ende of an arrowe, and so shootinge it, when it shall come to the toppe of the wall, by the lengthe of the lyne you maye knowe
p. liii. the.

the heighte of the wall, or els when the sonne eyther setting or ryfinge doth caste a shadowe from the towers and walles to the earthe, then measure the lengthe of that shadowe, thine eunemyes not knowinge thereof. And afterwarde sticke vppon a poole tenne foote hye above the grounde, and measure likewise the shadowe therof, the which being done, ye maye easelye knowe the heyghte of the wall or towne, by proportion of the poole, seinge that a boode of this heighte casteth a shadowe of this or that lengthe.

And thus haue I sette forth for the common commoditie and profite (as I suppose) of those thinges, which auncient wryters of chiuallrye haue lefte behinde them, and the latter age by experience hath necessarlye founde out touching the assault and defendinge of Cittyes. Marve this one thinge I cannot to muche warne you of, that you prouide diligent-lye that there be neyther scarcitie of meate nor drinke in your Cittye besieged, for that cannot by anye meanes be remedyed. Therfore the longer time that you suppose þ siege wil endure, so much the more victualles must you laye vppon in your towne.

* * And thus much the maner of warre on lande, beinge declared sufficientlye, with the meanes of defendinge and assaulting of Townes: I will consequentlye treat of warre helde on the Sea, and of shippes and Gallyes, and first of þ Liburnian Gallyes.



*Preceptes to be obserued in makinge
warre vppon the Sea.*

Chapiter .xxxj.

The maner of makinge warre vppon the lande, suffici-entlye declared at your maiestyes commaundemente (most mightye and worthye Emperour) the portion yet not spoken of, as I trowe, is of warre vppon the Sea. Of

Of the seates and cunnings wherof the lesse therfore re-mayneth to be spoken, for that the Sea beinge quieted now this good while, wee keepe warre with other strange Nati-ons vppon the lande. Notwithstanding that the people of Rome for the worshippinge and commoditie of their greate re-nowne: and not for anye necessitie growing by sodaine com-motion, but least at anye time it mighte suffer daunger, al-ways had an armie in readines. For no man dare geue oc-casion of warre, or do, or offer anye wrong to that kingdome or people, whom hee knoweth well prouided, and readye to withstande and to reuenge the same. Therfore at Misenu and Rauenna Cittyes of Italye, at eche there abode a Legi-on of Romaynes with þ Nauies: that they should not leaue the Cittye vndefended: and when as occasion serued, with-out delay or fetching much compasse, they might passe to al partes of the worlde. For the Misenates had lyinge harde vppon them Fraunce, Spayne, the Moores, Affricke, E-gipte, Sardine, and Cylil. The Rauennates vled to passe with a streight course into Epyrus, Macedonia, Achaia, Propontis, Pontis, East Asia, Creta and Cyprus: and to these with most speede, because in warrelye attayres speedi-nes and swiftnes doth moze auayle then manhoode.

¶ The names of the Judges which gouerned
the Nauye. Chap. .xxxii.

The chiefe Captayne of the Nauye of the Misenates, did gouerne the shippes or Gallyes which laye in Cas-pania, on the weste syde of Italye: but the Captayne of the Nauye of the Rauennates, did keepe them that res-ided in the Sea called Ionium on the East syde of Italye: vnder the which there were appointed .10. Tribunes, in e-uerie bande one. But euerye Gallye had such a one as was called Nauarchus, that is, the maister or gouernour of the shippe whom they called also Nauicularium, a Pilote or cō-ducter of shippes. Which besides other duties of Mariner, did carefuly and diligentlye euerye daye, helpe the gouer-nours

The fourth booke of Vegetius.

nours and rowers, and further also wth all possible industry, all maner of exercises of the souldiours.

¶ Why the Lyburnian Gallies were so called.
Chap. xxxiii.

Diuers countreyes at diuers and sundrye times haue bene able to do muche vpon the Sea, and therefore haue had diuers and sondrye kindes of shippes. But what time as Augustus foughte the battell at Actium, whereas Antonye by the ayde of the people of Liburnia, was chiefly ouercome, it appeared by the experiment of so greate a conflict, that the Liburnian shippes were more fit for the warres then others. And according to the fashion of them, did the Romaine Emperours afterwarde builde their Nauye, borrowing of them both their name and their likenes. For Liburnia is a parte of the countrey called Dalmatia, lying nigh to the Cittie called Iadera: after whose example now the shippes of warre are builded, & be named Liburnæ.

¶ Wth what diligence the Gallies or shippes called Liburnæ are made.
Chap. xxxiiii.

Like as in buildinge of houses men seeke diligently for good moxter and stones, eu^{er} so ought good stufte be soughte for the framinge and makinge of shippes, and so much rather because the daunger is greater if a shippe be faulty, then an house. Therfore if you wil builde a Liburnian vessell, chose chiefly to make it of Cypresse and Pyne tree, Larche & Firre, then any other tymber. And for your nailes, it is more profitable to haue them of brasse then yron, althoughe the cost be greater. For yron nayles will sone be rustye with water, and so consume: but brasse nayles for all the water, do keepe their naturall substance still.

¶ What heede must be taken in cuttinge downe of Timber. Chap. xxxv.

The

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The Timber whereof Gallies must be made, ought to be cutte downe betweene the xv. and the xxvi. daye of the Moone. And this must especiall^y be obserued. For none other but onely that which is cutte in these eghte dayes, will be free from wormes and rottinge. That which is vpon anye other daye hewed downe, within a yeares space, wilbe worme eaten and turne to dust. And this do all Carpenters know to be true, by their skill and daileye experience.

¶ In what monethes Timber should be cutte downe. Chap. xxxvi.

It is good cuttinge of Timber in Iulye and August, and so till the first of Januarie, for then be trees most without sappe, and therefore the timber both dryer and stronger. But you must beware that straight vpon the cutting downe your Timber, you square it not, nor make your shippe of it, as sone as you haue squared it. For timber asketh a double dryinge tyme, one before it be sawen, and another after, and so shall it be thorowlye drye, and fitte for your vse: whereas if you put greene Timber or boarde into a shippe, within a whyle after when it wareth drye, it will shrinke and make wyde riftes, which is most perillous for those that are in the shippe.

¶ Of the bignes and fashion of Gallies called Liburnæ. Chap. xxxvii.

As touching the quantity or greatnes of the Gallies named Liburnæ, the least of all haue euerye one, one row or bench of Dares: they that be somewhat greater haue two, they that be of a conuenient bignes haue three or foure, or els sometime foue. Neyther let this thing seeme straunge to anye man, seinge that in the battell at Actium, there were much greater Gallies then I haue spoken of, so that some had sixe ranches of Dares and aboue. But small boates y^e serue for scoutes, and go alwayes with the greater Gallies, haue almost twenty rowers in eche syde: the olde Brytaines termed these kindes of boates Pictas.

There

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Their vse is sodenlye to steale vppon the ennemys shippes, and to meete with their prouision by the waye, and to spy out theyr counsell, and to geue warninge of their comming. And if you will not haue them discryed by their whitenes, you maye colour their sayles and sacklinge with a lighte blew, because that is like the Sea coloure: and with the same like wyse staine your pitche where with you dresse your shippes, and let your souldiours and Marriners apparel, be likewise couloured with the same, that neyther in the night, nor daye time, they may well be espyed in their scouting.

¶ The names and number of the windes.

Chap. xxxviii.

Vhosoener carpeyth an armye with his Maue, ought to foreknow the signes of stormes and whirlewindes. For Gallies haue moze often beene taken away with tempestes and surges, then with the force of ennemys. In the which behalfe the whole cunning and knowledge of naturall Philosophy is to be vsed. By the which we learne the nature of wyndes and tempestes, by a certaine deuine kinde of meane. And in a roughe and raginge sea, euen as heede takinge doth defende and saue them that be ware and cyrcumspecte: so negligence doth cast them a waye that be recheles & carelesse. Therefore he that wil be skilfull in saylinge, ought first to consider the nomber, and also the names of wyndes. Olde warrours perswaded themselves that accordinge to the situation of the foure coastes of Heauen, that on lye foure principall windes did vsuallye blowe from euery part thereof, but a latter tyme founde oute twelue windes by experience. Wee haue set forth the names of the same, to put all maner of doubt cleane awaye: so that the principall windes beinge declared, wee maye shewe those also, whiche are ioyned to the same, both on the righte syde and on the lefte. Therefore from the place where the sonne stayeth in the Springetime, that is to saye, fro the chiefe and middle point of the East, cometh the plaine Eastwinde. Unto this is

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keepeth the middle point of the South, vnto this is ioyned on the right syde the South southeast winde: on the left syde the South southwest winde. The plaine west winde keepeth the middle point of the West. Unto this on the right syde is ioyned the West North west winde, on the left syde the West Southwest winde. The plaine North wynd doth keepe the middle point of the North, vnto which is ioyned on the right syde the North northeast winde, & on the left syde the North northwest winde. Of these oftentimes bloweth one at once, sometime two at once, but in greate Tempestes, yea three are wonte to blowe together. The Seas whiche of their owne nature are still and quiet, through the vehemencye of these windes, waxe roughe with raginge and trouble some waues. As these windes blowe accordinge to the nature of times or places: so tempestes are turned into calme weather, contrariwise calme weather into tempestes. And a luckye winde bynges a naye to the most desyred hauen: the contrarie winde compelles a man to lye a loofe, go backe againe, or els to sustaine perill. And that man therefore doth seldome suffer shipwacke, which hath diligently considered the nature and reason of the windes.

¶ In what monethes men may sayle moze safelye then others. Chap. xxxix.

Nowe it followeth to speake of monethes and dayes, for neyther doth the violence or raginge of the sea suffer men to sayle all the yere long: but some monethes are most conuenient to sayle in, some be vncertaine & doubtful, and other not to be vsed at all. During the course of the cleare and lightesome time of Sommer, that is to say, after the rylinge of the Pleiades, in latine Vergilie, in english the seven starres: from the xviij. day of Maye: vnto the rylinge of the starre called Arcturus, otherwise in Greeke Bootes: that is to saye, vnto the xiiii. daye of September saylinge is thought good and safe, because through the benefite of Sommer, the rage of the winde is assuaged. After this time vnto the

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to the vi. day of November, sayling is more vncertaine and more daungerous: because after the xiii. day of September Arcturus doth ryle, the most behemente starre of all other. The xiiii. day of September commeth in the raginge time of the Equinoctiall. About the seuēth daye of October do a ryle certayne starres called Hæd pluuales, betokening rayne. The xi. of October doth ryle the starre called Taurus. But from the moneth of November the going downe of the seuē starres which is in winter, doth trouble the shippes wyth manye tempestes. Therefore from the xi. daye of November vnto the x. day of Marche, the Seas are shutte vp. For whye the verye shorte dayes, the longe nightes, the thiknes of clouds, the darckenes of the ayre, the double raginge of the windes, howers, and snowes: doth much trouble and vniue awaye, not onlye Nauyes from the Sea, but also goers, by the waye, or traouellers from a iourney on the lande. But after the byrth day of sayling (as I may terme it) or first settinge forth of shippes to the Sea, which is kepte solemne with yearely games and common goes, or spectacles of manye Nations. The seas are daungerous to proue vnto the xv. daye of Maye, by reason of manye starres ragginge, and also of the time it selfe: not that the trauayle of marchantes shoulde easse, but because there is more heede to be taken, when an armie doth sayle wyth Gallies, then when the foolish & greedy hardines for priuate marchandise doth make haste thereto.

¶ After what maner the signes and tokens of tempestes maye be obserued. Chap. xl.

Moreouer the rising and going downe of certayne starres doth styre by & cause most behement tempestes: in which although certayne dayes be marked by the testimony of authors, yet for as much as they be sometimes altered by diuers chaunces, we must confesse & acknowledge that mans nature cannot know perfectlye the condition or state of heauē. The rising of tēpestes petyly is of thre sorts. For by experience we find tēpestes do happen either about one certayne daye of the yere prescribed, or before it, or after, wherev.

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wherevpon the tēpestuous seasons that go before y day appointed or middell of winter, we call by y name of a Greeke word *Procheimasm*, those y ryle iust at y ordinary day we name *Epicheimasm*: those y followe the same we terme *Metachimasm*. But to reherse euerye thinge by name, it seemeth both vniueete for this place & to long. Seing y many wyrters haue declared dilligently y course & order, not only of monethes, but also of dayes in this case. Also the motions of planettes many times trouble the clerenes of the ayre, when as at certayne dayes appointed by God the creator of the world, they draw neare or depart from some of the xii. signes. Likewise the dayes wherein the Moone chaungeth are commonly full of tempestes & fearefull to such as ble the sea.

¶ Of signes and tokens wherev to know the clerenes and troublesomenes of the ayre. Chap. xli.

By many tokens may men foreknow both stormes after a calme, & sayre weather after tempestes, & this doth y cyrcle of the moone declare as in a glasse. A ruddie colour betokeneth windes, a blewish or skye colour, rayne. A colour mixt of both, foretellet stormes & ragly weather. A pleasant & brighte cyrcle doth promyse cleare weather to shippes, especially if the fourth day after y chaunge, her hornes be not blunt & redde, nor yet darkened with much moisture. Furthermore in y Moone ye must marke whether at his rising or settig, his beames be chereful & of one colour: or by reason of a cloude ouer against it, they be of diuers colours, & whether they be bright & glisteringe, or redde like fyre, which is a signe of wynde y will shortly follow: or pale and speckled which betoketh raine sone after. Likewise by the ayre & sea, & the greatnes and fashion of the clouds, may maryners knowe the chaunges of weather if they geue their minde to it And some tokens may they learne of byrdes, and some of fishes, as Virgill in his Georgikes doth very wisely declare, and Varro in his bookes of sayling doth dilligently set forth the same. And these things do Pilats & matfers of shippes professe themselves to know, so farre forth as vniuearled experience without any profound learning hath instructed them.

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Of ebbing and flowing of the Sea.
Chap. xlii.

The Element of the Sea is þ third part of the worlde: whiche bespyres the blowing of the windes doth also moue by it selfe. For at certaine houres as well in the daye time as in the night, it runneth to and fro by ebbing & flowing. And sometime like a running brooke, floweth to þ landwarde, sometime backe into the deepe againe. This doublenes of the mouing of the Sea, doth helpe the course of shippes if it be wyth them, and hinder them if it be contrarye. Whiche thinge must be eschewed wyth greate heedfulness of him that intendeth to fight. For the violence of the tyde cannot be ouercome by any helpe of Dares, when as þ winde it selfe doth geue place thereto. And because that in diuers conntreyes thozowe the state of the moone encreasing or diminishing: at certaine houres the tydes do alter, Therefore he that goeth about to make warre on the Sea, oughte to knowe before hee ioyne battell, the vsage of the Sea in that place.

Of the knowledge of places, and of the rowers.
Chapiter xliij.

The diligence and cunning of the Marriners and gouernours, is to knowe the places and hauens where they sayle, that they maye eschewe shallowe places & suche as be daungerous, by reason of rockes appearinge or hidde. For the deeper that the sea is, so much the more safe & quiet it is. In marriners is requyred diligence, in þ Maister skilfulnes: in the rowers strength and manhooe. Because that a Sea battell is ioyned when the water is calme: and Gallies when they strike their ennemyes shippes with their stemmes & forepartes, are diuen with Dares and not with wind. And also when they shunne the hant of others, they vse the helpe of Dares, and not winde thereto. Therefore loke what parte hath strongest rowers and cunningest Captaines

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Captaine and maister, that same carryeth the victoie.

Of weapons and ordinaunce of shippes. Chap. xliiii

A Land battell requyeth many kindes of armour and weapons, but that which is fought on the Sea, needeth manye mo kindes, both of armour & weapons, and also enginnes and ordinaunce, euen as they should fight on the walles & towers of a Citty. For what is more cruell the fight vpon the Sea: whereas men be killed, not onely with water, but with fyre. Therefore there must be a speciall regarde had of harnesse and other coueringes, that the souldiours be siced with complete armour, coates of plate, helmets and legges harnesse. For no man can complaine of the waight or burde of his armour, which fighteth standing in the shippes: ye maye make your shieldes both stronger & larger, to beare of the strokes of stoones, hookes, and clammers, and other kinde of weapons vled in shippes. Dartes and stoness are caste betweene both partyes, with arrowes, pelletes, slinges, slingstaues, leaden plummettes, greater ordinaunce, lesser ordinaunce, yron bowes or Crossebowes: and (which is a more greuous thing) they that presume and thincke themselves sure by reason of theyr manhooe, after their Gallies be ioyned together, do passe ouer into þ shippes of their ennemyes on bridges layed ouer betweene. In the greater gallies they do make vyppes fortreffes and towers, that as vppon a wall, so they maye from aboue more easely wounde and slea their ennemyes. Also they vse to wrappe arrowes in towne, pitche and briuistone, and so kindling them, to shoote and strike them into the sydes of theyr ennemyes shippes, and so sodainly to set them on fyre by reason of the pitche and rosen, wherewith the sydes of the shippes are alreadye annoynted. One sorte are slaine with the sword, and stoness or pelletes, another sorte are compelled to burne in the water, and amonge so many kindes of deathes (which is the most cruell of al) their bodies vburied, must be deuoured and consumed of fishes.

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¶ Howe wyles maye be wrought on the Sea.

Chap. xlv.

As the vse is in a fiede battell, so likewise on the water, you may pryncipally steale vpon your ennemyes at vnwares; or in creekes and straighes conuement, you maye hyde a number of Gallies readye to come forth when neede shall requyre, that your ennemyes being vnpro- uided, may the sooner be ouercome specially if they be wea- ry with longe rowing, or if the winde or tyde be contrarie to them, or if they sleape suspecting none ill, or if the rode or corner which they keepe haue no way to issue out. If oppor- tunitie to fight do come as you would wishe, then must your men fall to it cherefully hauinge these helpes, and so ioyne your battell as maye be most for your aduantage. If so be that the foresight of the ennemye be such, that they will not be beguiled, but encounter in open fight, then your Gallies muste be placed in a rarye not straighthe as souldiours be in a fiede battell, but bowinge in, after the similitude of y^e halfe moone, so that the two endes come oute, and the middle be hollowe, that if the ennemye shall assaye to burst throughe, he may be caught and compassed in, by reason of the very or- der and ararye. But in the winges must ye place the chiefest strength both of your Gallies and of your souldiours.

¶ What should be done when open battell is ioyned on the Sea. Chap. xlvj.

Moreouer it is profitable that your nauye be alwayes in the deepe sea and at libertie, but your ennemyes alwayes driuen to the shoore. For they do loose all force and strength in fighting, which are thurst to lande. In this sea fight, three sortes of weapons helpe muche, named in latine. Aleres, Falces, Bipennes. Aler is when a sceler and a long beame much like the sayle ycard, doth hange from the mast, and hath both y^e endes headed with yron. This serueth in steepe of the battell Rammes, and beinge driuen mighte.

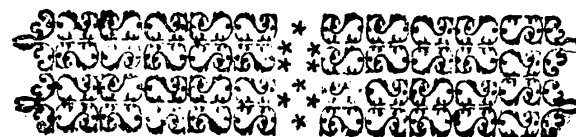
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mightely and with great force, it throweth done and killeth both Hariners & souldiours, & oftentimes beateth throughe the shippes sydes. Falx is a verpe sharpe yron, croked like a hooke, which beinge put vpon greate longe pooles, doth sodenly cut the ennemyes tackeling a sonder, and the roopes that beare vpe the sayle yarde: and so the sayle clothes falling downe together, doth make the shippe moze slowe & vnprofitable. Bipennis is a double edged are, on both sydes verpe broade and sharpe, with the which the moste skilfull Hariners when as the battell is hottest, they go downe into a small boate, and pryncipally cutte a sonder the roopes wherewith the rudders of the ennemyes shippes are tyed. Which thing beinge done, the shippe is streight way taken as vnarmed. For what helpe is left when the rudder is lost. As touchinge the shippes of pastyme which are vsed in the pryncer of Danubius, in daily watchin- ges, I purpose to speake nothing at all, because that in them by often vse, hath bene founde moze cunninge, then our auncestours haue left to vs in wytyng, and my purpose was only to gather such thynges together, as I finde wytten in Bookes.

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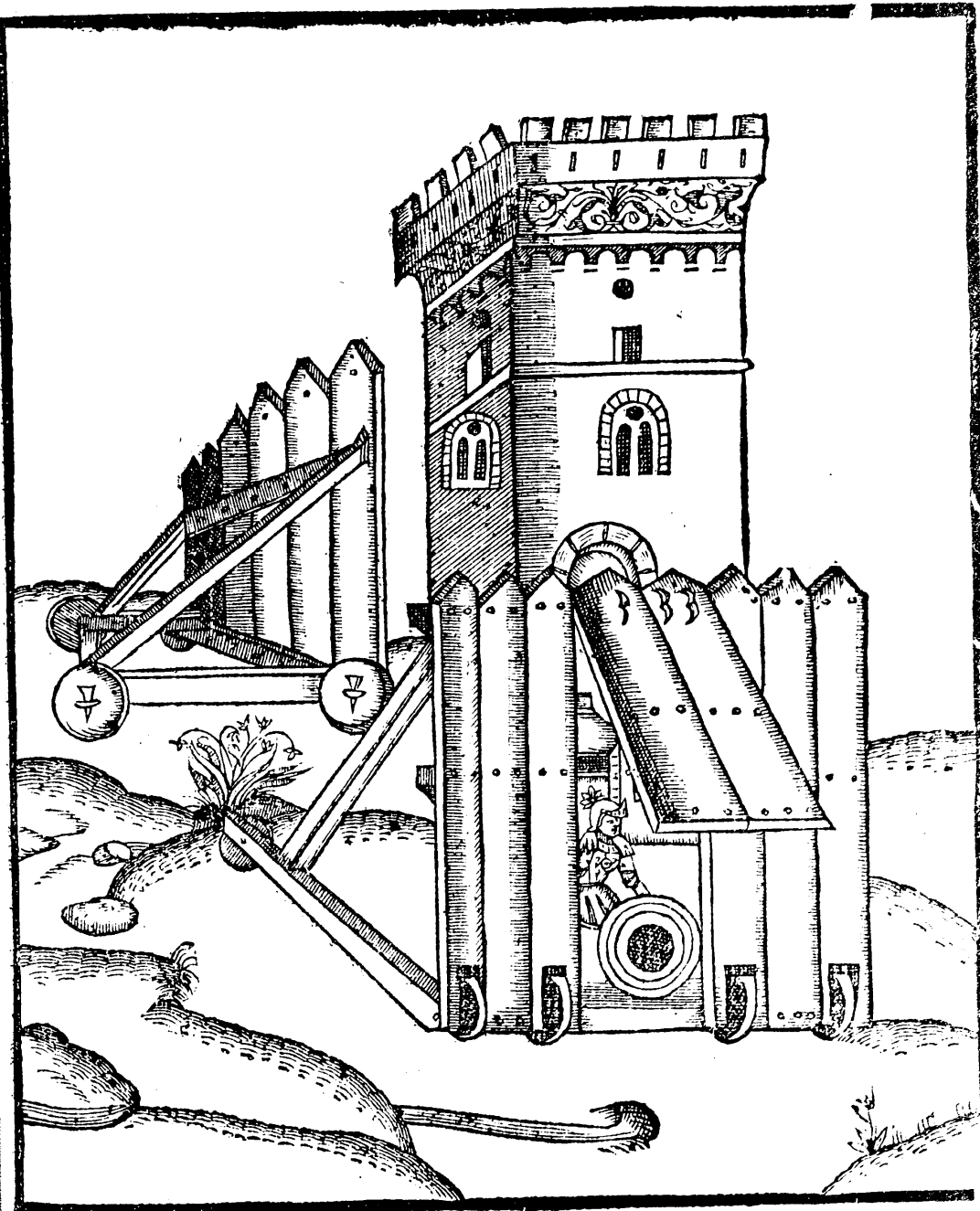
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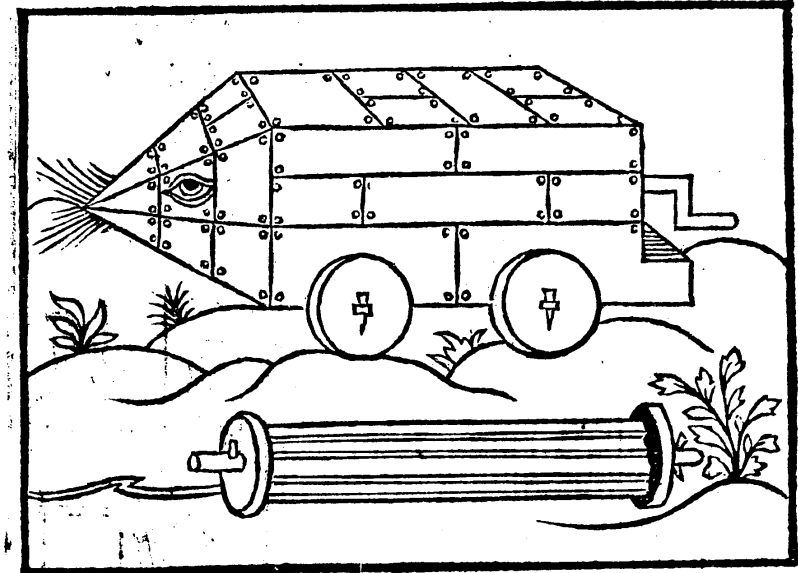
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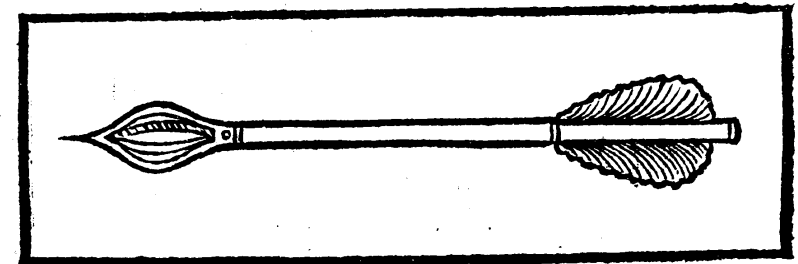
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Folio. 56.*



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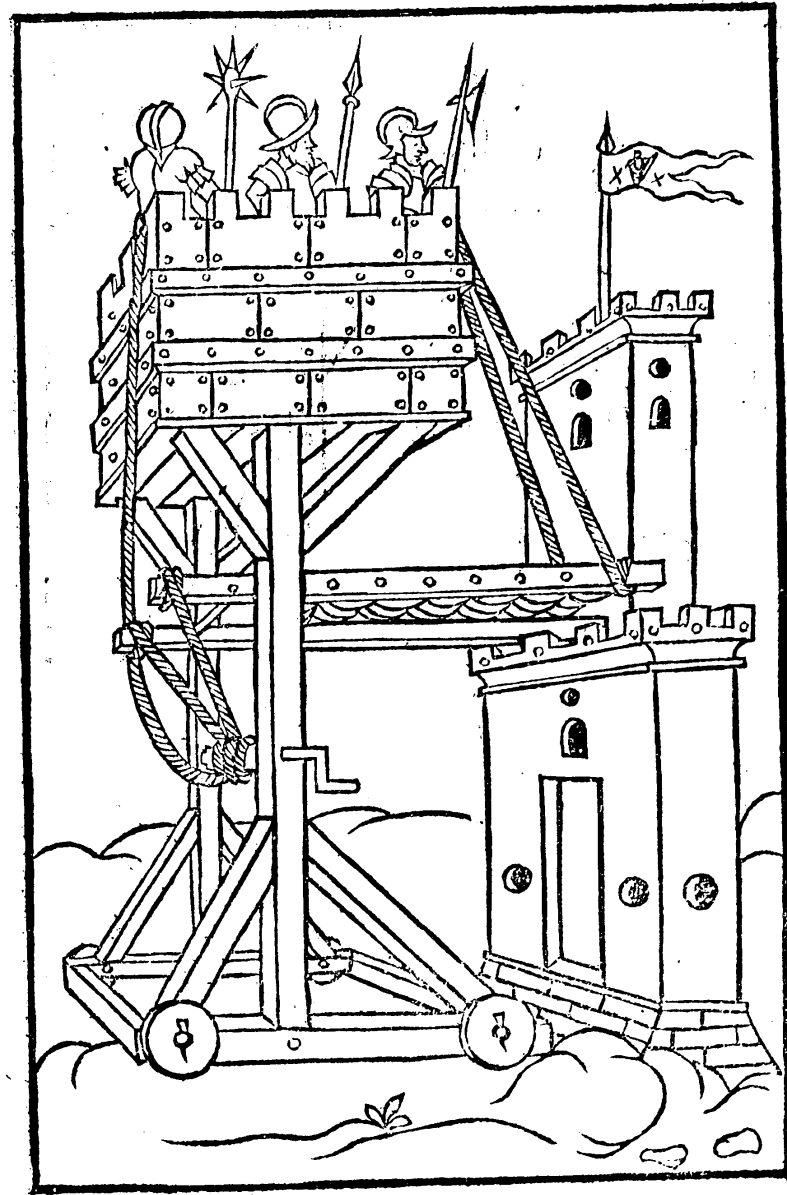


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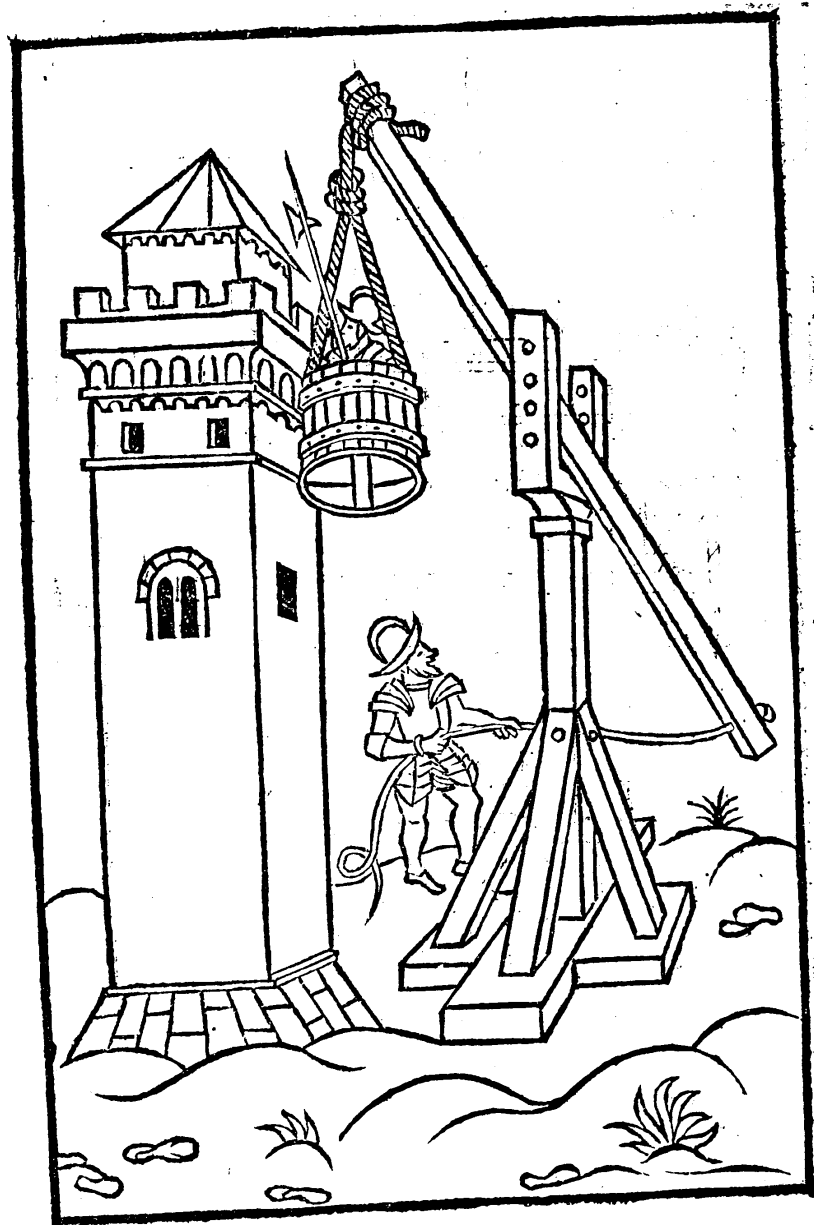
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For the xxi. Chapter of the
fourth Booke.



*For the xxi. Chapter of the
fourth Booke.*



*A table declaringe what euerye
Booke contayneth in euery Chapter.*

The first Booke.

- T**hat þ Romaynes througþ þ only exercise of armes,
haue ouercome all Nations. Chapter .1.
Out of what countreys a yong souldiour should be cho-
sen. Chapter. 2.
Whether out of the countrey or out of the Cittie yong soul-
diours may be taken most conueniently. Chap. 3.
Of what age the yonge souldiour should be, which shoulde
be thought allowable. Chap. 4.
Of what stature yong souldiours should be chosen Chap. 5.
To know by the countenance & making of the body which
souldiours are like to proue good. Chap. 6.
What sciences yonge souldiours should be skilful in, which
should be eyther chosen or refused. Chap. 7.
What time yonge souldiours should be registred or billed.
Chap. 8.
That yonge souldiours be exercised in marchinge, running
and leaping. Chap. 9.
That yonge souldiours should vse to swimme Chap. 10.
Howe warriours aforesaid caused their souldiours to vse
wicker tergets, & cudgels, at a stake or post. Chap. 11.
That souldiours shoulde be taughte to foyn & thrust, not to
cutte, and strike downe righte. 12.
That yonge souldiours be taughte cunningelye to handle
weapons. Chap. 13.
That yonge souldiours shoulde vse to cast dartes and other
shot. Chap. 14.
That yong souldiours should be diligently taught to shoote
Chap. 15.
That yonge souldiours should be bled to cast stoones with a
slinge, or with the hand. Chap 16.
Of the exercise of leaden plummettes. Chap. 17.
That yonge souldiours should be exercised to vault or moue
on horses. Chapter. 18.
That yonge souldiours should vse to carry weight and bur-
dens.

The contentes.

dens.	Chap. 19.
What kinde of armour souldiours of old time were wonte to vse.	Chap. 20.
Of fortifying of campes	Chap. 21.
In what place a campe should be pitched	Chap. 22.
In what forme the campe should stande	Chap. 23.
With what thinges a campe should be fortified	Chap. 24.
How a campe should be fenced whē the ennemye is at hand.	Chap. 25.
How the yonge souldiours may be trayned that in the battell they keepe good order, their aray, and space betwene one and an other.	Chap. 26.
How much space souldiours must go and come when they be broughed forth to marche: and how often they must be exercised in a moneth.	Chap. 27.
Of the perswasion to warrefare, and of the manhoode of souldiours.	Chap. 28.

The seconde Booke.

Into how many kindes the Art of warre may be deuised	Chapter. 1.
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Then ende of the contentes.

Faultes escaped in the printinge,

whereof the first number signifyeth the leafe,
 the letter a. the first syde, and b. the
 seconde syde.

- In the Epistle dedicato^{rye}, b. for translation thereof, reade
 translating thereof.
 Folio 3. a. continuance, reade countenance.
 Folio 3. reade souldiours for souldiour.
 Folio 8. Grecians, reade Gradians.
 Folio 9. b. army, reade Campe.
 Folio 10. a. standers, read standers.
 Folio 10. a. especial, reade especially.
 Folio 13. a. Legionaci, reade Legionarij.
 Folio 13. b. Gaternas, reade Cateruas.
 Folio 14. a. possible, reade possibly.
 Folio 15 b. haruest, reade harnesbe.
 Folio 20. a. footement, reade footemen.
 Folio 24. readde, saye reede.
 In þ third booke the Prologue, Den wor-
 thye, read D men worthe.
 Fol. 34 a. it, reade is.
 Fol. 40. a. Hasti, reade Hastati.
 Fol. 41. a. rankes, reade orders.
 Fol. 48 a. Promuscide, read Promuscide.
 Fol. 53. b. byppresse, reade oppresse.
 Fol. 56. b. bardes, reade boardes.

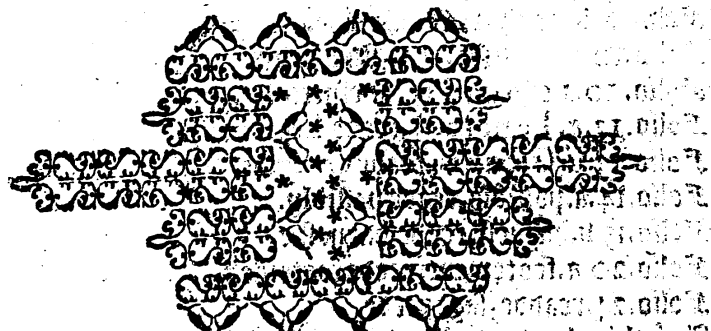
Folio.

Folio. 63. a. there lacketh before the beginninge of this
leafe, all these wordes followinge: topned on the righte
toppe, the East North-east winde, on the leftte toppe, the East
South-east winde. The plaine south winde.

Folio. 64. a. Pilate reave Pilors.

FINIS

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